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Volume XII.



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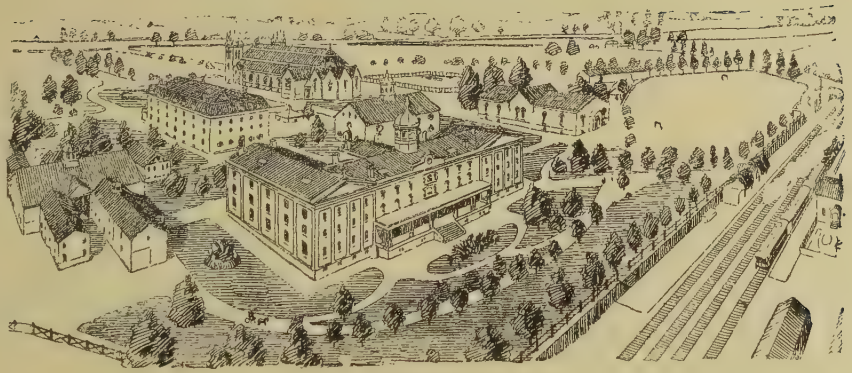
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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

1900

BY WALTER GEORGE SMITH

In accordance with the custom that has governed our society for a number of years, it becomes my duty to address the annual meeting upon the work of the past year and our prospects for the future.

Sixteen years have elapsed since our organization. During that time great work has been done throughout the world, in all the departments of human research, and historical investigation has received its full share of attention. While the eager efforts of the masses of mankind have been concentrated upon the pursuit of wealth, while the appeals to national pride artfully stimulated in too many instances by selfish schemers for their own individual ends have brought war, and all its train of attendant distresses in different parts of the earth, yet there have been, as there always have been, even in darker times, true and earnest scholars, whose solitary researches have brought to light many a hidden thing and corrected many a false notion that for generations has disturbed the judgment of mankind. There are not wanting philosophers who have risen from their studies in utter despair that history can ever be written where the truth shall shine through its pages to the enlightenment of those who turn to the past that they may be aided in their conduct for the future. So much has been written and passed even into proverbial acceptance that they know has been cunningly invented to bolster up some false cause,

or some dangerous theory, that they do not hesitate to denounce all history as a conspiracy against truth, and the attempt to correct its many shortcomings as a useless waste of effort. To such thinkers we may hold out the encouragement that a brief study of recent works cannot but give. It was not meant from the creation of the world, it is unimaginable by any orthodox mind that falsehood should ultimately prevail. It is an instinct of our natures that lasts even amidst the perversions that our baser tendencies are constantly arraying against it, to long for, to struggle for truth.

"You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," said the Apostle of old, and until our moral natures have been completely subdued by the power of evil, we are always eager and always striving to find that truth that shall give us the mastery over the things that hamper our advance, whether in the moral or the material realm, and shall make us free, with a freedom that is born of absolute knowledge. For centuries we know that the world has been deceived in very many matters that it is slowly finding out. Little by little the web of falsehood woven partly of ignorance, partly of malice, and partly of prejudice, that has entangled the minds of non-Catholic civilized people, and has prevented their apprehension of Catholic dogma and Catholic philosophy, is being unravelled; and as the better nature asserts itself, even where the gift of faith is withheld, men of large grasp of mind become admirers and supporters of that great polity, which to you and to me is known to be under God the only effective defence against the powers of darkness in the affairs of this life.

This age of the world, like all that have preceded it, is marked by defects and tendencies that may well create alarm, but in many things it is admirable beyond any, and one of its most admirable characteristics is its gradual emancipation from bigotry and prejudice. Not that there is

wanting the narrowest bigotry and the most unreasoning prejudice among very large portions of all civilized communities. We have them in America, we know they exist in England, we have been recent witnesses of their baleful effects in France, and doubtless in all the nations of the modern world they will be found as they always have been found among those who are uneducated, or what is sometimes worse, but partly educated, in the philosophical sense of the term. But the note of this age among those thinkers, whether in natural or moral science, who slowly but surely are working upon the general tone of thought, is a note of broad tolerance and a philosophical attitude of mind that promises the best results for the cause we have at heart. If a public teacher of morals or philosophy does not possess, he must at least affect to possess these qualities, or he will be relegated to the class of shallow sectaries to which he belongs. The days are gone, let us hope forever, when the darkened minds of religious zealots can hope to influence the masses of men either by vituperation or by the arm of secular power. The object of the Church, following the precepts of her Divine Founder, is to spread a knowledge of truth among all nations, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The object of every true son of the Church must be the salvation of his soul; and in the pursuit of that salvation, the broadest charity both in theory and practice towards his neighbor, must of necessity be involved. Throughout the laity in all countries where the Church is established, there will be found societies, either charitable or religious, either for the corporal works of mercy or for the encouragement of piety; and the good accomplished by them is not to be measured.

Our own society is not strictly within either of these categories; but the successful accomplishment of its objects cannot but be a powerful incentive to both. If our efforts to preserve the materials for a true history of the Catholic

Church in America, and of its distinguished men and women, ecclesiastical and lay, religious and secular, result in the elucidation of truth and the correction of error, we shall have done a work not less important, perhaps even more so, than that of the noble organizations who visit the widow and the orphan, who alleviate the miseries of the prisons, and who watch by the bedside of the sick or minister to the dying on the battle-field. If we can build up a great library of works of original reference, we shall aid the teachers whose explanations of the truth of the religion in which all these good men and women find their incentive are so powerful; and aiding these we aid every good effect that follows from their efforts.

We have taken for our field American Catholic History. In taking this we embrace a wide domain; the materials for its truthful recital will be found not alone amidst the archives of our own land, but wherever the records of events are preserved throughout the world. To understand its philosophy, the writer must be familiar not alone with the written words, but his knowledge must extend to racial peculiarities. He must know the proud Spaniard, the tenacious Dutchman, the Frenchman who manifests himself in so many different aspects from the brilliant soldier to the humble missionary priest. The history of the all-conquering Englishman must be his special study; while the aboriginal tribes of the North and the South, from the savage Iroquois to the semicivilized Aztec and Peruvian, pass in review before his keen intelligence.

As the discovery of Columbus marks the beginning of the modern history of the world, well-nigh all that relates to that history is properly within the province of such a society as ours. Surely there is enough here to warm the dullest imagination, to appeal to the most unresponsive mind.

As the last days of the century draw to a close, we may

well contemplate the almost unimaginable changes that have been wrought since its beginning in social and political conditions. It was ushered in while the volcanic fires of the French Revolution were still hot. Its early years were marked by the tempestuous career of Napoleon. The ancient institutions of Europe were shaken to their foundations, and her thrones were maintained only by the blood and tears of millions of her people. The Church was fiercely attacked by the imperial despot, till even in his plenitude of pride and power, the truth forced itself upon him that without her conserving influence, society itself must fall asunder. Those early years were followed by a peace of exhaustion, but the first impulses that brought on the struggles of the peoples for a broader individual liberty have not yet lost their force. Political advance has been followed by a period of retrogression, but certain it is that the European peoples have changed their political ideals. Perhaps the most conservative statesmen of our era would have been considered radical in the days of Metternich and the Holy Alliance. The march of democracy has begun, and it will have no ending until the rights of every individual, citizen or subject, have found their safeguard under the ægis of law, if the masses are but true to the underlying basis of all civilization. But here is the danger. False teachers confuse and darken counsel. In their view the Church is the enemy of human rights; they teach that she has flourished as the ally of class privilege and the determined opponent of legitimate freedom for which all men yearn. We know this is untrue; we know that from the chair of St. Peter has radiated the only light that has shone steadily during all the centuries since the days of the Cæsars. It is the mission of the Catholic student to set right the attitude of the Church towards all human institutions whether social or political; to correct the errors of the superficial, and prove the truth against the falsehoods of the

malevolent. It is the mission of such societies as ours to show by the history of the Catholicism in America that step by step with the expansion of the most splendid example of democratic government ever known to mankind, the Church has advanced in power, while her children have been as distinguished for their patriotism as for their obedience to her authority.

It was to save the souls of heathen peoples that the earliest adventurers sought the westward path to the Indies. Long before the trader opened his commerce, the Jesuit missionaries were perilling and sacrificing their lives that the light of religion might shine into the souls of the Indians. The "black robe" was the most illustrious pioneer of the American Continent, and now that it has been subdued to a civilization that had its birth in the Christianity he taught, the truth must be impressed that its real prosperity, the only enduring happiness of its people, rests in submission to that same faith that changes not, whatever be the accidents of its surroundings, or the vicissitudes of human life.

Never before, since history has preserved its records, have such changes been witnessed in so brief a time, as marked the passage of this century, on the Western continent. Where at its opening there stretched a wilderness for thousands of miles, teeming with animal life, occupied by a scanty population of savages, at its close millions of men with all the surroundings of an opulent civilization have fixed their homes; where at the beginning of the century the problems of government were settled about the campfires of the Indians, the most delicate and complicated machinery, executive, legislative, and judicial, finds itself strained by the questions that clashing interests press upon it for solution. But here as in the long death agony of Imperial Rome, as in the days of Attila, of Theodoric, of William the Norman, of Frederic Barbarosa, of Henry the VIII. of England, of Cromwell, of Napoleon, the Church lifts up

her standard for the hope and instruction of all who wander in darkness or in doubt. Let them but appeal to the principles for which she has ever stood, and governor and governed will alike do justice.

Such are the truths that may be illustrated by Catholic history, and to their special application to our country it behooves us to do our part. It were vain to magnify our society's mission, but surely it needs no more than a rapid retrospect of the history of our country to show its importance.

The first year of the new century will dawn upon a great and powerful Catholic Church in America, bending its energies for the uplifting of mankind to the same high ideals for which the humble missionaries laid down their lives in the forests three hundred years ago. May we not hope that her power and beneficence will continue to grow till the dominant influences of the American people find their inspiration in her sublime faith?

Year by year the hopes and accomplishments of those who have worked for the American Catholic Historical Society have been presented for the criticism of our fellow Catholics, year by year we have made appeal for the very modest support necessary to maintain a useful existence. It requires much patience when we measure anticipation with results. We could have done so much more had we received but a little of the moral and material aid that has been given to other things; but we have very much to give us hope and encouragement. The future seems to promise the rewards that we humbly hope our efforts have deserved, not for ourselves, but for the society as an instrument to aid the great cause of Catholic truth.

During the past year the broad, far-seeing charity of a Catholic woman has given us our first substantial bequest. To the late Miss Elizabeth Blight, who during her lifetime was an earnest advocate of our society and a member of its

Board of Management, the cause of American Catholic History is indebted for a bequest of $5000. Her memory needed not this evidence of appreciation of our efforts to be preserved among us, but it is proper that special tribute should be paid for what she has done.

In addition to this munificent gift, we have to congratulate ourselves upon a net increase in our membership of one hundred and thirty-eight, making the full number on our rolls seven hundred and fifty. Our library has received a number of valuable books, either by donation or bequest. The crowded audiences which have filled our parlors at each of the many interesting lectures that have been delivered during the course of the year, attest the public interest in the work we have at heart, while under the auspices of the society a series of lectures upon philosophy and church history have justified the plans under which they were undertaken. Earnestness and renewed activity in all the departments of the society's work have marked the entire year.

Permit me then to make appeal to all our members to continue the work so well begun. Let them walk about this noble house, rest their eyes upon its treasures, enjoy in imagination the scenes we may hope the future will witness, when from all parts of our land the student of American Catholic history will turn towards our library as the most potent armory from which to draw his weapons in the unending contest with historical untruth. Here may be perfected a system of correspondence and exchange with all historical bodies throughout the world. We have already seen the eager response of the children of our parochial schools to the offer of prizes of historical essays. If our first attempt to awaken their interest has been so successful, what may we not hope for the future!

This favored land has entered upon a career of industrial and commercial prosperity well-nigh unprecedented. How great a share has fallen to the lot of the descendants of the

early pioneers of the Catholic faith, who have done their part in building up the Republic, we have no statistics to show, but certain it is they have been among the most successful in every department of practical affairs. Nor have they forgotten their obligation to share with the suffering and the unfortunate some portion of their riches. Hospitals, orphan asylums, schools, reformatories, institutions of all kinds supported by the charity of rich and poor alike, bear witness to the fidelity of the American Catholic to the demand upon his conscience to give of his means to the works of his church. The steady increase of population has made necessary a constantly growing expenditure for church edifices, and for the education and support of the clergy and the decent administration of the rites of religion, all of which is borne with cheerful generosity.

It cannot be that those who appeal for aid in building up centres of intellectual work will do so in vain. Let us but demonstrate the utility of our society as an auxiliary force in the extension of the faith, and we shall not lack material assistance. To do this we must strengthen our magazine, which has already published so much material; we must put our library in such order that its treasures will be readily accessible; we must continue to enlist the services of able lecturers upon subjects of living interest.

All these things and more are embodied in our plans. Their success requires the generous co-operation of both clergy and laity. One of the most encouraging signs of advance during the past year has been the constantly increasing interest of the clergy as shown by some notable accessions to our membership, and the reiterated approval of our venerated Archbishop. Besides all these signs of a growing interest it is being recognized that it is of no small advantage to the Catholics of Philadelphia to have in our Hall a gathering-place where they may meet so frequently representatives of all the parishes. Needless to say we shall

always welcome those who find an interest in our library, our archives, and all that our house contains.

The time has come for me to surrender the office of President with which I have been honored for two terms. In doing so I should be insensible, indeed, were I not grateful for the many and constant evidences of confidence and courteous kindness that have been shown me continually by the officers and members of the society. I can but express my high appreciation of your unfailing consideration, and the wish that the society may attain the highest success in its chosen field.

SOME MEMOIRS

OF

OUR LADY'S SHRINE

AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA.

A.D. 1855—1900.

WITH REMINISCENCES OF STILL EARLIER DAYS

BY REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S.A.

In this paper on the mission of "Our Lady of Consolation," * at Chestnut Hill—a district within the city of Philadelphia, will be described the foundation of the twenty-eighth Catholic church in the limits of that city, the fourth too intrusted to the care of the Augustinians in Pennsylvania,—the following being the other churches in their charge,—St. Augustine's of Philadelphia, founded by the order in 1796, the first; St. Denis of Haverford in Delaware county, opened in 1825, or may be a year or so later, the second; St. Thomas of Villanova, (along with the college under the same title, both in the above county,) founded in 1842, the third; and Chestnut Hill mission, established in 1855, the fourth.†

The story in its fulness of any institution—divine or human, presenting as it necessarily must the workings of

* Such was the title of the Catholic church at Chestnut Hill, as we learn from the *Catholic Herald*, of Philadelphia, in the account given therein of the earliest confirmation-rite (of record) administered there June 26, 1858.

† In 1855, year of the founding of Our Lady's church at the Hill, the *Catholic Directory* names other twenty-seven churches in Philadelphia, whereof the list will be given in Appendix A.

genius,—whether low in character or lofty matters little,—will always offer something of worth to the reader thereof,—something akin to the dramatic, with even bits interspersed here and there of tragedy, not to say comedy, an element of intellective power, gleams of which you will never find wanting in whatever is done, or said, by God, or man,—in the varied plays of spiritual or human feeling, in marvellous changes of episode, or in singularity of incident,—phenomena to be found interwoven in a measure in this tale of St. Mary's shrine. But here at the very outset, before taking one step even further in his narrative, the writer makes this observation relative to the frequent naming therein of members of his family,—his father especially, who among the many actors in the tale of that church was chiefly instrumental (under Divine Providence) in having a place of Catholic worship established at Chestnut Hill, without whose labors in that regard there would not only have been no church in '55, but (as the reader himself may discover) for maybe many years later. Such references then as will be encountered to this gentleman and other members of his family, should not be set down to any veiled attempt on the part of the writer at self-glorification, or family-worship, but the rather viewed simply as so many plain recitals of undeniable public fact. And facts,—scholars know this truism well enough,—whether these be vital to the tale, therefore to be kept in the foreground of one's narrative, or used merely as so many side-lights (as it were) in illumining the scene and the chief personages on the stage of our drama,—facts, explain them as you may, are the very things you can't keep out of history.

Most of the personages named especially in the opening pages of this paper,—some as actors in the drama of founding St. Mary's, others as authorities for the story, were themselves old settlers in the neighborhood, residents there for many a year, that "knew every inch of the ground,"

(as it were,) for miles around, and had a more or less important part to play in the organization of Our Lady's Shrine in '55.

From what they did, and what they recorded, we learn all the better the *initia rerum*—the beginning of this mission dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, which like many another essay of genius in story promised but little good at the start, yet (as will appear) brought forth much wholesome fruit at the end.

Therefore in this chronicle of St. Mary's have been named such actors as were chosen by the Almighty to further His designs,—to take part however humble their co-operation may have been,—in the building of a temple in honor of His Mother,—a labor largely of love, (—as may be easily believed, and why shouldn't it be?)—for the writer to go behind the scenes (as it were) to gather the materials for his story, then, mould them in detail. Nor in thus introducing these old Catholic settlers and residents to the reader, has the story-teller any apology to make, any more than he has none for whatever display of feeling, of enthusiasm even he may betray in thus treating of the scenes and events of his boyhood.

As to the sources of the writer's information a word or so only. He has drawn copiously from church registers and archives,—official documents we may style them,—then from other written stores of facts, as diaries, memoirs, account-books, and the like, to be classed among the private monuments of history. Besides he has gathered much material relative to the field of Our Lady's mission (especially prior to the organization of it in '55,) from reminiscences of old people, nearly all now gone to their reward, witnesses themselves, or otherwise cognizant, of what they have told.

With this prelusion we then begin our story. Before the opening (in '55) of their mission church of Our Lady, the few Catholics in the neighborhood of Chestnut Hill be-

longed to the congregation of the Faithful worshipping at Germantown at St. Vincent de Paul's—a church then as now in charge of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission,—their official title,—now however more commonly known as Lazarists, the founders of that sanctuary.*

But data, though meagre enough in form, are not wanting to establish the fact that years before the opening of the above-named churches there were Catholic settlers in the neighborhood of the Hill.

But let us go back for a while to the ancient history of this part of William Penn's colony, since there can be no story without its corresponding antiquity.

In olden times, in the XVIIth century, Chestnut Hill, a later name for the place in the beginning styled "Summerhausen," † was one of the districts forming part of the settlement known as "German-towne,"—so written by Penn in his charter given to Francis Daniel Pastorius on August 12, 1689,—laid out by the latter-named colonizer in 1683, and by him divided into four villages, or districts, styled respectively Germantown, Cresheim, Summerhausen, (now Chestnut Hill,) and Crefeldt.

Nearest to Philadelphia was the district of Germantown; next to it Cresheim co-extensive with the settlement now known as Mount Airy,‡ divided from Summerhausen by a little stream—Cresheim creek; then next to Cresheim was the third district Summerhausen, in the upper part of the German township, which extended from Limekiln road to

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* St. Vincent's was opened to divine worship in the closing months of 1851, prior to which time the Faithful went for Mass and other solaces of religion, to many far-away places,—to St. Stephen's of Nicetown, St. Matthew's at Conshohocken, St. Patrick's at Norristown, to the Assumption church, or St. John Baptist's, at Manayunk.

† "Summerhausen," native-place of Pastorius, was a village in Bavaria, in Lower Franconia, on the right bank of the Maine, south-east of Würzburg. Sometimes it is found written "Sommerhausen," and "Somerhausen;" while Crefeldt is also written "Crefelt" and "Crefeld."

‡ "Mount Airy" derives its name from the country-seat (near by) of Chief Justice William Allen, who before the Revolutionary War was wont to reside there in summer.

about " an eighth of a mile above Chestnut Hill toll-gate." * While lastly Crefeldt, a rural section (of the German township) stretched out northwards from Summerhausen, or Chestnut Hill, as far as Streeper's Mill, on the Wissahickon, where the turnpike crosses that stream, thence to Germantown township line.

Such is the description of these old-time settlements made by Pastorius, as found in works treating on the local topography of this quarter of Christendom. At just what time " Summerhausen"—the original name of this settlement,—yielded to its present appellative,—Chestnut Hill, (so derived I've read because of the former abundance on it of chestnut timber,) or just when this latter title first began to be used, is not known. Very likely as in the case of so many other geographical names the change from the old to the new was so easy and gradual as not to invite notice.

Yet the modern name " Chestnut Hill" was in recognized use as far back as the XVIIIth century. In his *Diary* (for the year 1777), General Sullivan, one of the Revolutionary heroes, refers to " Chestnut Hill". So too does General Washington in his letter addressed (on December 10 of that same year) to the President of Congress. While the German settlers in the vicinity, it may be added, called the place " Chestnut Barracks." †

That in the middle of the XVIIIth century a hundred years before Our Lady's shrine was opened at the Hill there were Catholics (not many however) in the neighborhood, is assured beyond doubt by transcripts from official church records of those early days.

The burial lists of the old cemetery, known as " Upper

---

* So reads an old-time description of this settlement. Up to some thirty years ago the toll-gate at Chestnut Hill stood about opposite the present Pennsylvania rail-road station.

† From *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mt. Airy and Chestnut Hill*, 1889, by Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, A.M., (pp. 388, 389, 399.)

Germantown Burying Ground," record the following interments:—*

"1756, June 20, the Catholic man's son
"1757, Oct. 16, the Catholic Man's wife
"1758, Jan. 6, The Catholic Man from Chestnut Hill."

This old graveyard, subsequently known as the "Axe Burying Ground," and then as "Concord Burial Ground", wherein were interred these three Catholics, whose names however have not been handed to posterity, was on Germantown Road above Washington Lane.†

In those early days of the colony, when places of Catholic worship and interment were very few and far between, the Faithful (through necessity) often availed themselves of non-Catholic places of burial for the safe-keeping of their dead. But this merely by digression. The "Catholic man" named in the lists, though obviously of humble rank in life, is yet the earliest, in fact the only, professor of his Faith, of whose residence at Chestnut Hill there is positive record.

But as appears from the church registers kept by the Jesuit missionary Rev. Theodore Schneider at a still earlier date than the above there were Catholics, if not precisely at Chestnut Hill, at least not far from it,—at Germantown.

Thus we encounter the names of persons baptized by him in 1742-1744, at or "near Germantown", named Friderich, Arnold, Schwartzmann, and Chateau, with their sponsors Spengler, Engellhard, and Riffel.‡

References to Catholics resident in Germantown, (subsequent to Fr. Schneider's day,) are met with not unfrequently

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* In the *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography*, (for December, 1884 viii, pp. 414–22,) is a paper on the old cemetery by Dr. Keyser, well worth reading at least for the names he has copied from the burial register of the parties interred therein.

† The *Public Ledger* (for Feb. 27, 1896, p. 13) describes this graveyard and the church near by of the Mennonite Brethren, or Dunkards, on Germantown Road.

‡ For these baptisms in full see Appendix B. Possibly the "Germantown" (in the text) may have meant some other locality than the settlement now within the boundaries of Philadelphia. The writer has met another mission-stand of the same name in Berks county in charge too of Father Schneider and his successors at Goshenhoppen.

in the registers at Goshenhoppen, (in Berks County,) and at St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's in Philadelphia. In the early part of the XIXth century the Fathers belonging to the latter-named church used to attend the Faithful settled at Germantown, as well as Frankford, Manayunk, Darby, Norristown, and other places near Philadelphia, all these localities being met with in its registers.

But apart from these meagre facts little else of positive character is known of the Faithful in the neighborhood of Chestnut Hill until the first decade of the XIXth century.

At Mount Airy in the house on Germantown Road opposite Allen's Lane,* built in 1750, by the colonial Chief Justice Allen,—it is worth while to record this fact,—was established in 1807 a Catholic school devoted to learning of high grade, styled a "Seminary" in the prospectus of its founder, the very learned, zealous, and well-known French priest, Rev. Francis Xavier Brosius. This institution was conducted by him up to the year 1811, when he sold it to Benjamin Condon Constant, also French. In 1826 on the retirement of Constant the management of this school passed into the hands of General Augustus L. Roumfort, or Rumford, a French noble, who made it a military school, and was succeeded in 1834 by Captain Alden Partridge. In 1848 or '49, the school was abandoned, the building torn down, and on its site erected a dwelling-house by the late James Gowen of Mount Airy. The Lutheran Seminary now occupies the place once held by Fr. Brosius' Catholic "Seminary."

Under Constant's management of this school were educated George A. Carrell, afterwards first bishop of Covington, Ky., Arnauld Thouron, Joseph C. Walsh, Robert Meade, Beauveau Borie, George Gordon Meade.

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* We referred to Judge Allen's house some pages ahead. After him it belonged to Captain Stephen Decatur, the elder. Allen's Lane was the earliest eastern boundary of Chestnut Hill mission.

In view of the apostolic zeal of the good Father Brosius there can be little doubt that Mass was said regularly at Mount Airy during his four years' management of the "Seminary."*

In thus dwelling on the past of Chestnut Hill, it is worth while to chronicle (on the authority of Mr. Hotchkin) the following event.

Speaking of this ancient settlement, he recalls the name of the old German printer, Samuel Sauer, a Dunkard, or Mennonite, who, in 1790, published at the Hill a German weekly—the *Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift,* besides at various times other samples of his craft, as almanacs, psalters, A B C books, and the like, whereof some were printed in English, the greater number however in German. The daughter of this disciple of Guttenburg, Maria Sauer, was married (so states Mr. Hotchkin) to one Richard B. Spalding, a Roman Catholic, and relative of the late Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore. The children of this couple, the only descendants of the first Chestnut Hill printer, were baptized in the Catholic Christian Faith, their mother too having been enrolled among the members of Holy Church after her marriage.†

Besides these names associated more or less closely with

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* The reader, who desires to learn more of Father Brosius' "Seminary," will do well to consult a very interesting paper on it by Mr. Griffin published in his *Researches* for 1888, (v, 155-159.) Father Brosius was the first teacher in the United States to use a black-board—at the present day that commonest and most indispensable of pedagogic implements even in back country schools—with chalk and cloth (a novelty however at the time) in his class-work in his mathematical school. This fact is given on the authority of one of the monographs published by the U. S. Government—*The History of Mathematics*, (Washington, 1890, p. 117,) which in turn cites the *Amer. Educ. Biography* for 1866, (xvi, 141.) Besides these authorities the reader will find much of interest in his sketch of Father Brosius' "Seminary" in Mr. Hotchkin's work quoted ahead. (See pp. 364, 366, 371, 375.) He also should consult the *Diary* of Rev. Patrick Kenny, in the RECORDS OF THE AMER. CATH. HIST. SOCIETY for 1896, (vii, p. 109.)

† Hotchkin (as above, pp. 421, 422.) Yet, it is only fair to observe, the writer of this paper, albeit he has sought for verification of the above incident from several members of the Spalding family, has been unable to learn any more of Richard B. Spalding than told in *Ancient Germantown.* Nor does Mr. Hotchkin himself vouch for the accuracy of his statement.

early Catholicity at the Hill, mention too should not be omitted of Thomas Lloyd, who in the last century, a refugee from England through political distress, made his home in Pennsylvania about 1777, first at Lancaster, then in Philadelphia, where he followed his vocation of writer, editor, publisher, until his death in the latter-named city on January 19, 1827, at the age of seventy-one years.

This (Thomas) Lloyd, deviser of a remarkable system of stenography, and the first reporter of the proceedings of Congress, had his country residence for some years at the old stone house down in the valley at Cresheim on the south bank of that stream between Main Street and the Pennsylvania rail-road, for thirty-five years part of Our Lady's mission-ground.*

Moreover while speaking of the Catholic settlers in the neighborhood of the Hill in the last century, a word may be allowed about what one might almost style, if not ascertained fact, as we are ready enough to avow, yet fairly well-based conjecture, that on some one or other of their not infrequent journeys between the interior of the colony and its head-town Philadelphia, Catholic Indians now and then made Chestnut Hill their resting-place for a time.

That Catholic Indians visited Philadelphia among other reasons in order to make their periodical pilgrimage to St. Joseph's church (in Willing's Alley) is a matter of historical record.

The late church historian Dr. Shea telling of the visits of these primitive Americans to the above-named shrine in order to receive the holy sacraments of their religion, says that in 1743, Count Zinzendorf wrote of the Senecas and other western Indians, who always were well received at

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* Should the reader desire to learn more about this early Catholic resident on what was once the eastern boundary-line of St. Mary's field, he may find many details of interest well worth reading and studying in *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches* for 1890, (vii, 17–32.)

Philadelphia, and encouraged to visit the Catholic missionaries, that

"when any of them come to Philadelphia, they go to the Popish chapel to Mass."

And again (to quote the Doctor):

"The famous Madame Montour, wife of an Oneida chief, and on many occasions interpreter for the English, came to Philadelphia in her own carriage, and on one of her visits had her granddaughter baptized at St. Joseph's." *

Mention too of a pilgrimage of these Faithful of the boundless forests to that old shrine of their fathers is made in the *Diary* of Father Kenny (for the year 1809,) where he has set down the incident in the following language:

"Had this day [*October 8, 1809,*] a visit from Seven Indian Chiefs —of the Machimacinac tribe—one of them had two small plates of silver hanging from the cartilage of the nose—all were straight, able-bodied men, painted with red strakes awkwardly daubed had blankets, callico gowns—& 2 had Surtouts—all had feathers fasten'd in their long black hair—they were of strong masculine features—one only was of a neat light turn of body—one had a circle, of silver detached pieces, round the breast & 2 plates of silver on the arms. I shook hands with them all. Shew'd them Trinity church—they behaved in no manner like savages—the oldest was a venerable 75 or 78 years old man—exhibiting no mark of infirmity—wrinkles deep furrow'd betray'd his years otherwise he'd pass for young—all had maukesoms —we parted—Crowds fill'd the streets." †

However the question whether these Indians (mentioned by Shea and Kenny) passed by Chestnut Hill on their way to the city, or homewards, is one I am unable to answer.

A certain Indian custom I am about to relate,—an ancient duty as they seemed to have viewed it,—of visiting the Hill every year seems to point to the fact that the Indians in eastern Pennsylvania (among them doubtless the Catholic

* Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, (New York, 1886,) i, 401, where he quotes Reichel's *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, for his statement of the baptism of this Indian princess.

† See *Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny* in RECORDS OF THE AMER. CATH. HIST. SOCIETY, (for 1896,) vii, 110–111.

Delawares) were wont to make Chestnut Hill a halting-place in their road from their forest homes to the metropolis and back.

Still while my inference may not correspond to fact, of the fact itself there can be no question that at Chestnut Hill on the north bank of the picturesque Wissahickon * is yet to be seen the place of solemn assembly visited by Delaware Indians, known to them as Council, (though now more commonly styled Indian,) Rock,—an unfailing object of curiosity to the passers-by on the Wissahickon road.

In this reference to Council Rock, no pointed allusion is intended to their yearly visits thither of the Delaware Indians from Bethlehem, all Moravians, I should say. That members of this particular tribe with their chieftains, one of them—Tedyuscung, whose name is famed in story and song, came periodically on pilgrimage to Chestnut Hill is unquestioned.

But while there is no positive evidence, as must be said in all honesty, that Catholic Indians were settled at the Hill, or thereabouts, or even visited it, still, unless I am mistaken in my reasoning, there is a fair, even strong, probability, that while on their road to St. Joseph's, or the city, and their return home, these same Indians were wont too with their other forest brethren to gather at Council Rock for matters of tribal or family discussion.

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* As to the meaning of this Indian word—"Wissahickon," I quote from the Rev. Mr. Hotchkin, who says that in the *Upland Court Records* (for 1677), the name of this creek is written "Wiesahitkonk;" and that the meaning of it, according to the last century missionary Heckenwelder, was "cat-fish, or yellow-water, stream." The word itself, which comes from the dialect of the tribe of Delaware Indians, otherwise known as Leni-Lenape, I have also seen spelled "Wiessakitkonk," from the words—"Wissa," it is said, and "mechan" signifying "catfish." On Holmes' map of Philadelphia this stream is called "Whitpaine's creek" after the name of one of the original settlers with Penn. (Hotchkin (in work named), p. 526; and Ledger *Almanac* (for 1879), p. 11, and (for 1881), p. 11.) Watson, the antiquarian, gives other spellings for the name of this stream, which he himself writes "Wissahiccon," as "Wisamêkhan" = catfish creek; and "Wisauchsican" = stream of yellowish color. (Watson's *Annals*, (ed. Phila., 1857,) ii, 180.)

While in the petition addressed to the colonial council by the inhabitants of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, July 4, 1718, I read the word "Whitsahicken." (*Colonial Records*, iii, 50.)

In his boyhood days the writer was acquainted with two aged maiden ladies—the Misses Lydia and Susan Piper, daughters of John Piper, whose residence (as it too had been their father's) was a few years ago on the purchase of the property by Charles A. Newhall transformed by him into a coach-house. These two old dames (now many years dead) told the father of the writer how in their girlhood days, the Indians, (we have been speaking of,) in their yearly pilgrimage to Council Rock never failed in passing by to stop at their father's house, for hospitality on their way to the spot, that for ages maybe had been the meeting-place of their sires. John Piper was regarded by these wild children of the forest as their friend. From him they got food and drink; and were given shelter in his barn—a very tumble-down affair, just across Chestnut avenue in front of what once was the old Piper homestead.

Near by the "barn", or the ruin of it,—the observer may yet descry their lines, though now barely distinguishable from the surrounding soil,—are (or rather were) mounds of aboriginal construction, apparently used for burial purposes, as therein at one time (so the writer has been told) could be found interred various relics of Indian make, but of late years overturned and rifled of their contents by curio-seekers. Usually the visit to the Hill of these forest-pilgrims lasted a month, during which time they were engaged chiefly in "pow-wows" around the Rock.

And now having referred to the fact of Indian visits to the Hill, we come to their place of meeting on the Wissahickon, at Council Rock, about midway between the mansion of Chancellor C. English and the creek. The writer remembers when a boy visiting that famous shrine of Indian veneration,—then apparently little changed from its primeval form and appearance. Projecting from under the hollowed front of this rock, that by art, or (as seems more probable,) by nature, I know not which, had been scooped

out like some rudely fashioned tiny chapel apse, was a ledge, or shelf-like stone,—something that might have served for a seat, or throne, for aboriginal chieftains, or may be as an altar of worship. All over the inner face of this cave, easily distinguishable then, were marks, symbolic signs, of odd-looking shape,—of strokes and curves, or crooked lines, drawn in what seemed to be red and blue paints, which, the writer remembers he was told, were inscriptions in Indian sign-language. These symbols plain enough to view in the '50s, at the time of his earliest visits thither, are now no longer to be seen.

In those days Council Rock was sheltered in the woods, and by the very fact of its solitude guarded from profanation. Trees and thick undergrowth of bushes and vines, which covered the Wissahickon hills, cut off all view of the Rock from around, while the very existence of the spot was known to but few persons, and honored by still fewer.

There was no easy way of approach to the Rock,—in fact but few people seemed to know of it,—some by the wood-paths, rough at best and unenticing, that winding snake-like among the trees led thither. At that time too along the creek there was no drive; nor any Chestnut avenue running back (as now) from Thomas' Mill road to within a short distance from the Rock. So that with the place little known, and the traditions centring around it in keeping of only few persons, there was no mutilation of the shrine; no defacing of the lines of it; no scratching out of the symbols on it. Now the seat-like shape of this inner shelf in the cave has disappeared in large part,—chipped away by relic-hunter, or thoughtless visitor.

In the '50s, sometime about '54 or '55, was opened to the public the drive—the Wissahickon Road—along the Creek from the county-road, that skirts the academy grounds of Mount Saint Joseph's on the west, down as far as the "Old Red Bridge". The "Wissahickon Turnpike Road Com-

pany",—such was the legend on the official seal of that corporation,—that built and owned this favorite park drive, was formed in 1851, with $26,000 capital, Joseph Middleton, father of the writer, being president of the company, and his nephew John Cooke Longstreth, attorney at law of the Philadelphia Bar, treasurer of the same. Mr. Longstreth had been educated at Georgetown College, whence he graduated in 1847, being the valedictorian of his class, his essay "The Poetry of Life." Four years later (in 1851) young Longstreth received the A. M. degree from his *Alma Mater*.

This road eight and a half miles long from Flourtown, where it starts, to the Ridge Road near the mouth of the Wissahickon, had been projected by Joseph Middleton, and the line of it surveyed by Alan W. Corson, civil engineer of Plymouth, a genial, kindhearted old man, very knowing in more things than belonged to his profession, among others in field- and wood-lore, in the characteristics too of plants, (he was a clever botanist,) the traits and habits of living creatures,—of bugs, birds, snakes, and creeping things. Moreover he was very sympathetic in his ways, as is generally the case with your true scholar, so that the old surveyor was ever ready to untwist any knotty problems—and enough of them too doubtless used to puzzle the brain,—of the little chap, who in company with his father was at times privileged to trudge along with the old engineer, to worry him maybe with posers anent the queer things in insect, plant and animal life they came across in their meanderings along the line of the proposed road. In the memory of the writer still lingers with fond recollection the vision of these woodland strolls over the hills along the Wissahickon from the mouth of that stream to the grounds of what is now Mount St. Joseph's Academy.*

* In Bean's *Hist. of Montgomery County* is a good portrait of this genial old scholar besides a neatly written sketch wherein are set forth his many gifts of head and heart. (See pp. 1034, 1035.)

On the completion of the Wissahickon Turnpike,—at first a toll-road,—it had cost the company, so I've read, some $37,500. But on the acquisition of it by the city, the toll-gates were done away with, and the highway made free.

The writer of these lines was witness too of the erection on the summit of Council Rock, mainly by the energy of his father, of the first image (in wood) of the venerable Tedyuscung, chief of the Delawares; and remembers moreover the many researches made in old books, and the many discussions held by the parties in interest, to determine just how to guide the artist that was to paint the wooden *icon* of the departed Leni-Lenape brave and adorn him with the colors proper to his race and tribe.*

Simultaneously with the placing of the monument on the Rock, were the trees and bushes, that stood thick on the hill-side, cut away that full view of the Indian Tedyuscung might be had from the Wissahickon drive that shortly before had been opened to the public.

The land whereon stood Council Rock besides much more in the neighborhood of it was owned jointly by Joseph Middleton and William W. Piper, nephew of the two venerable dames referred to ahead.

From a bill for iron ware and a receipt dated "August 6, 1856", (nearly all the papers relating to this statue being yet extant, and in the possession of the writer,) it appears that "the Indian" cost at least $22.17, viz.: Jacob M. Fisher, blacksmith was paid the following sum,

" for 28 lb. of Iron @ 10 c	$2.80
" " do.	1.20
" " 30 lb. of Iron in uprights	3.00
	$7.00

* From *The Germantown Telegraph* I learn that the figure of Tedyuscung standing on the rock was placed in position on July 18, (Friday,) 1856, "in commemoration of (his) last visit to this spot, which happened just one hundred years ago."

Unfortunately I have not preserved the date of the *Telegraph*, unless maybe it be the same as my transcript therefrom, which bears this acknowledgment—"Copied 1869, August 9."

While to Patrick (generally known as "Pat") Owens, carpenter, for

"5 days work at Indian $1.50	$7.50
"boards	5.76
"6 lb. of wrought nails @ 16	96
"4 " " cut " @ 5	20
"4 " " lead & ½ qt. oil	75
was paid the sum of	$15.17

Unfortunately the bill for decorating "the Indian" is missing. The artist, whose name has been forgotten, was (if my memory fails me not,) a scene-painter attached to one of the Philadelphia theatres.*

"Pat" Owens was employed by Doctor Moriarty a year or so after St. Mary's was opened to make the pews. He was a native of county Tyrone in Ireland, a man of considerable skill in his craft, who some years after left the Hill for New York.

Yet as long as we are lingering in memory on the Wissahickon drive, before leaving that charming thoroughfare for good, we may tell what it seems is known to but few people, that the fountain on the drive a little below Indian Rock,—one of the earliest road-fountains around Philadelphia,—was erected for the good of the public by John Cooke, brother-in-law of Joseph Middleton.

Here on a quarter acre of land purchased by Mr. Cooke for this purpose and subsequently donated by him to the city of Philadelphia, was erected this granite fountain, on the design of one he had chanced upon in his travels in Europe.

The writer remembers well the several phases in the genesis of this work of beneficence,—the hewing of the granite

* But the *Germantown Telegraph*, (quoted in the previous Note,) says "the Indian" was "drawn and colored by William C. Wimmer, one of Philadelphia's best artists, and considered a correct representation of the Leni-Lenape, or as they are commonly known—Delawares, formerly owners of the land around, and residents."

in his father's quarry, where the fountain was made, the chisellings and inscriptions on it by the hand of Richard Hunt, a stone-cutter; its erection on the spot it now adorns; and finally the fact that when connection had been made with the springs—there was a whole nest of them—at the rear of this monument on the hill-side, he was witness of the jubilee of the builders in their hailing the fountain as a boon to the public,—PRO BONO PUBLICO—for the public good—being one of the inscriptions on it; ESTO PERPETUA—be thou everlasting—the other; and drinking therefrom men and beasts straightway went their road refreshed and enlivened.*

In the early years of St. Mary's from 1855 and later the care of the clergymen resident at that church was far-reaching towards the north and west, their parish proper being practically without metes and bounds in that quarter of Christendom. There was no Catholic church then at Doylestown; nor any at Ambler or Jenkintown.† The writer remembers when a boy once accompanying Father Edward Mullen on a sick-call beyond Fort Washington. In 1855, St. Mary's mission bounds, which on the east lined with St. Vincent's of Germantown, at Allen's Lane, and on the south with Manayunk, (the Ridge Road being the line of division,) embraced within its borders the following settlements, namely: Barren Hill, with Marble Hall near by; then Flourtown, Whitemarsh, Camp Hill, (scene of the awful rail-road disaster on Thursday, July 17, 1856, in which Rev. Daniel Sheridan, rector of St. Michael's, of Kensington, with fifty-nine of his parishioners were killed by a collision of trains,‡) Fort Washington,—all on the

* In more than one Guide Book of Philadelphia this fountain is erroneously attributed to the generosity of one "Joseph Cook,"—a blunder in both names. Its erection was due to the two persons named in the text,—John Cooke and Joseph Middleton.

† The dates of the foundation of these three missions will be given in Appendix H.

‡ On this occasion Dr. Moriarty, rector at Chestnut Hill, with the Jesuit Father Barbelin, guest at the time of Lawyer Hirst, of whom mention further on, hastened to the wreck to give the consolations of religion to the dying and wounded.

Bethlehem pike; then Jenkintown, besides parts of Cresheim, Mount Airy and Roxborough. Scattered among these centres of country-life, though never dignified, so far as we know, with mention in gazetteer, or atlas, were other smaller settlements within St. Mary's bounds, as "Pumpkintown" at the crossing of Thorp's lane with Perkiomen pike, "Wheel Pump" on the Bethlehem pike at the northern foot of the Hill, and "Bungtown", (named in Watson's *Annals,*) thus christened (we have been informed) from the fact that in the last century coopering chiefly throve in that settlement, which later on was known as Spring Village, and now also as Hamiltonville.* Here we may be allowed a slight digression on some old-time features of St. Mary's senior sister-church—St. Vincent's of Germantown.

The Catholic church in this Philadelphia suburb, the corner-stone of which had been blessed at four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, September 2, 1849,† by Bishop Kenrick in the presence (the *Telegraph* says) of about two thousand people, was opened to divine services two years later, when the same paper has the following account of that festival:

"The Roman Catholic Church (St. Vincent's) recently erected on Price Street, in this borough, ... opened for the first time on Sunday morning last, [*the 13th inst.*], for public worship, and was filled to its utmost capacity by an attentive audience.

"It was intended to consecrate the church at the time, but the rain in the morning and threatening appearance of the weather, we learn, induced a postponement until next Sunday morning, when the ceremony will take place." ‡

The first entry in the church registers at St. Vincent's,—a baptism,—is dated September 7, 1851; and the first mar-

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* Rector McEvoy remembers having visited Cresheim, Mount Airy, Fort Washington, and Marble Hall frequently, and Jenkintown once in discharge of his missionary duties. While his immediate successor Father McShane has gone as far as Fort Washington as well as to Marble Hall, Roxborough, Cresheim and Mount Airy, to administer the comforting rites of Holy Church.

† The *Germantown Telegraph*, for August 29, and September 5, 1849.

‡ *Germantown Telegraph*, Wednesday, July 16, 1851.

riage on the 25th of the following October; both sacraments having been administered by Rev. Michael Domenec, C. M., (afterwards bishop of Pittsburg,) first priest in charge. On May 9, 1853, confirmation was administered for the first time, (it seems,) at Germantown, by Bishop Neumann, he confirming on that day sixty souls in the Faith. While after Vespers on Sunday *in Albis,* April 7, 1861, by Bishop Wood was blessed the first church bell of St. Vincent's, dedicated to God, the Holy Virgin and the saintly patron of the church. This instrument 1065 pounds in weight had been cast the 21st of the preceding month (of March) by Joseph Bernhart, a bell-founder of Philadelphia, (caster too of the college-bell of the '40s at Villanova) whose bill for his work was $340.80.*

We return now to St. Mary's, whose Faithful prior to the opening of that shrine scattered as they were throughout a large reach of territory, in various settlements, engaged too for the most part as farmers, laborers, servants, with a few tradesmen and mechanics, used to be attended in case of illness by the clergymen resident at Germantown, Manayunk and Conshohocken.

Of the early Catholics in the '40s in the neighborhood of what is now Our Lady's mission was Charles Cooke youngest born of the ten children of John Cooke and his wife Lydia Barton Price of Philadelphia.†

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* In St. Vincent's, it may be noticed, the writer of these pages received the sacrament of confirmation at the hands of the holy Neumann.

† John Cooke was of Lancaster county stock having been born in New Holland township of German ancestry on November 8, 1766. Coming to Philadelphia in early manhood, he first engaged in the cloth business with Thomas Wistar under the firm-name of "Wistar & Cooke." His wife Lydia, whom he married January 3, 1799, was sixth-born of the nine children of Elisha Price—seven of them by his first wife Lydia Barton, two by his second Elizabeth Eves. This Elisha Price, son of John Price and his wife Abigail Gatchell of Chester, in Pennsylvania, where he was born November 11, 1734, was lawyer, notary public, and frequently representative of his county—Chester—in the colonial legislature during the troublous times preceding the active outburst of hostilities in the War of Independence. In politics he was an unflinching Whig, one of the committee appointed by Convention July 15, 1774, to carry out the "non-importation agreement" between Philadelphia and New York. In 1775, he was chosen one of the Committee of Correspondence

After their marriage the husband, a Lutheran by religious profession, and his wife an Episcopalian, embraced the tenets of the Society of Friends, wherein they both died, and in adhesion to which they brought up their children, though few of these, if any, remained therein.

Mention is made here of John and Lydia B. Cooke chiefly because of their many immediate descendants, twelve at least in number, who embracing the Catholic Faith lived and died in it. Of their ten children three became Catholics—Charles, (just named,) the first of his immediate family to enter the Church; then Mary Elizabeth, fourth born, wife of Judge Longstreth, with three of their five children; and finally Lydia, eighth born, wife of Joseph Middleton, with eight of their nine children, (one a little boy having died before the conversion of his parents.*)

Moreover this Lydia Barton Cooke, though precisely in what degree is not known, was a kinswoman—" a cousin," so she styled herself,—of Elizabeth Walsh, mother of Robert Walsh, the Roman Catholic patriot, writer, diplomat, of the post-Revolutionary period; and with her daughter Lydia was present at the exequies of the mother of that statesman, in St. Joseph's church in Philadelphia. It was in memory of this staunch old-time Catholic matron, that Mary Cooke, subsequently wife of Judge Longstreth, was given her middle name " Elizabeth." Nor were these three children of John Cooke, (with the others named,) the only descendants of him, that with their children became members of the Catholic Church. Three of the great-grandchildren of John and Lydia B. Cooke, through their son Barton, as well as the children of these, one of them married

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from Chester county; and on the creation of Delaware county in 1789, was appointed an associate judge. In religious belief, Elisha Price was Episcopalian, and from 1767, to 1798,—year of his death (on September 25,) a vestryman and warden of St. Paul's Episcopal church at Chester.

* Mary Elizabeth Cooke was born September 1, 1804; Lydia, March 16, 1812; and Charles, August 15, 1819.

to a lineal descendant of Chief Justice John Marshall, are now members of the same venerable Church. But enough of this genealogical digression. Let us return to Charles Cooke. On the death of his mother in 1831, (his father having died three years earlier,) Charles Cooke leaving his town residence in Philadelphia sometime in the '30s took up his home with his sister Mary at the Longstreth homestead at Whitemarsh.

Here on the Bethlehem turnpike, about three miles northwest of the Hill, at their country-place, known as "Valley Green" from the luxuriant verdure that so richly decks the meadows along the Wissahickon, a truly charming spot in the winding and wood-clad valley of that stream, the Longstreths dispensed an ever ready and hearty welcome to visitors—kinsmen, or friends. Oftentimes Catholic priests were guests at their board, among them Rev. Edward J. Sourin, vicar-general of Bishop Kenrick, then resident rector of St. John's church in Philadelphia, who in after years became a devoted and exemplary member of the Society of Jesus; and Rev. Michael Domenec, of the Lazarists, of Germantown church.

Besides Judge Longstreth was on terms of warm friendship with the late venerated missionary of Harrisburg, Rev. Pierce Maher, afterwards rector at St. Patrick's of Norristown, where as well as at the capital of the State the Judge used to meet the priest, while on business connected with his office.

Morris Longstreth, himself a descendant of Bartholomew Longstreth, of English (Yorkshire) stock, one of the earliest settlers of Bucks County (Pa.) in the XVIIth century, was a man of good education, in politics an ardent Jeffersonian Democrat, and for many years one of the lay-judges of Montgomery county, Pa.* While his wife's

* Morris Longstreth, born December 3, 1800, was the third child of Joseph Longstreth and his wife Margaret McKee, afterwards married to Gabriel Middleton. He was twice

brother—Charles Cooke—brought up under the care of private tutors, then when older at the one-time well known academy of "Clairemont," * on the road from Germantown to Frankford, was a man, who with scholarly tastes, joined a very devoted and lovable disposition. Devoted to study and art, he was a lover of books and reading,† of works especially of solid tone, of devotional and theological cast of thought. Fond of music, he performed with not indifferent skill on flute and piano; was given to painting in oils, wherein he displayed no little artistic temper; moreover had a knack for mechanics,—a fondness for carving, moulding, lathe- and joiner-work, besides other kinds of ingenious and fanciful skill.

Being of sober and reflective cast of mind, Charles Cooke influenced doubtlessly by the Romeward tendencies (at that time especially) of many of America's master-intellects, as Ives, ex-Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, Brownson, the encyclopædical writer, Haldeman, world-renowned naturalist and linguist, Horner, no less famed professor of surgery at the University of Pennsylvania, and his very erudite brother professor Allen in the classical department at the same institution; led doubtless by these intellectual grandees in their following along the path marked out by the English Newman and other lights of the "Oxford movement", across the ocean, Charles Cooke found his way to the portals of the Catholic Church—to the Faith of his

appointed associate judge for Montgomery, once March 15, 1841, and again March 14, 1846,—a position he resigned on January 1, 1848. Moreover he was canal commissioner of the State, and nominee of the Democratic party for the governorship of Pennsylvania, won by William F. Johnston by only a few votes. (See *Germantown Telegraph*, (in its editorial on the death of Judge Longstreth,) for Wednesday, May 2, 1855.)

* Clairemont Academy had been founded about 1806, with Charles Carre, a Catholic from Alsace, as president. On Carre's retirement from that position, the school passed under Quaker management, with Samuel S. Griscom in charge, at the time we refer to. (See Griffin's *Researches*, for 1888, v, 159, for a brief notice of Clairemont during its management by Carre.)

† Several works from the shelves of Charles Cooke have found their way to the monastery library of the Augustinians at Villanova, where they were placed by his nephew to whom they came by bequest.

forefathers, wherein he was baptized by Bishop Kenrick (of Philadelphia) on November 15, 1843.* Hither to the same old-time haven of peace for the soul Charles Cooke was followed in less than twelve years by fifteen members of his own immediate family—his two sisters Mary and Lydia with their husbands Judge Longstreth and Joseph Middleton and the children of their households.

In 1849, on Monday, March 12, at the age of thirty, Charles Cooke went to his reward; his last moments on earth being comforted by the priestly care of the clergy of St. John's in Philadelphia, whither it had so often been his wont to go from "Valley Green" for the sacraments and consolations of his Faith.† Of Charles Cooke, the *Catholic Herald* in its obituary notice of him, says that

"he ever illustrated his faith by his fervent piety. One of the last acts of his life [being] a donation to the poor Carmelites of Loughrea, Ireland, of $5.00."

In the list of benefactors of St. Charles' Seminary, of Overbrook, in Pennsylvania, published yearly in its reports, appears the name of Charles Cooke, (albeit mis-spelled "Cook",) as having bequeathed to that institution the not inconsiderable sum of $5000.‡ Largely through the virtuous example of their uncle Charles three of the children of his sister Mary E. Longstreth, George, Joseph and Lydia, were blessed with the light of Faith, and baptized by Father Sourin.§ But the parents of these children deferred their

* The same Bishop Kenrick was instrumental too in opening the portals of Holy Church to Professors Haldeman, Horner and Allen.

† As at the time of his death none of his family, except three small children of his sister Mary, were Catholics, his remains were interred by his brother John in his own grave-lot at Laurel Hill, where they now rest.

‡ This donation to Bishop Kenrick was burdened with two annuities (now long since extinguished by the death of the parties) of $50. apiece to Mary Ann Campbell and Alice Milliman, of whom more anon.

§ George C. Longstreth was baptized on Wednesday, March 10, 1847, at the age of fourteen years, and died single at "Valley Green" on Wednesday January 15, 1851.

Joseph C. Longstreth, baptized about four months later on Wednesday July 24, at the age of eleven, was educated at Villanova College, died single on Friday, April 29, 1864,

entrance into the Christian Fold until several years after, when on his death-bed the Judge along with his wife Mary were baptized less than two months before the laying of the corner-stone of St. Mary's at the Hill. (Judge Longstreth was one of the largest contributors to that shrine.)*

The *Germantown Telegraph,* referring to the recent death of the Judge at "Valley Green", states that

"he was well enough last Tuesday to be up, only two days before his death",

which followed (it says) an attack of pneumonia, and that

"he was a man of well-balanced mind, with clear views on all questions." †

But at the Longstreth homestead at "Valley Green" in the same early '40s, was still another Catholic, an old family retainer long in service with John and Lydia Barton Cooke, who on their death continued to live with their daughter Mary, first, in Philadelphia, then at "Valley Green". This was Mary Ann Campbell (named ahead,) who when a little child of four years had been left by her dying mother to the care of Mrs. Cooke. Mary Ann, known to the household at "Valley Green" as "Tiny" (in playful allusion perhaps to her almost gigantean bulk) was Catholic from babyhood, never lost her Faith, and was the earliest known member of

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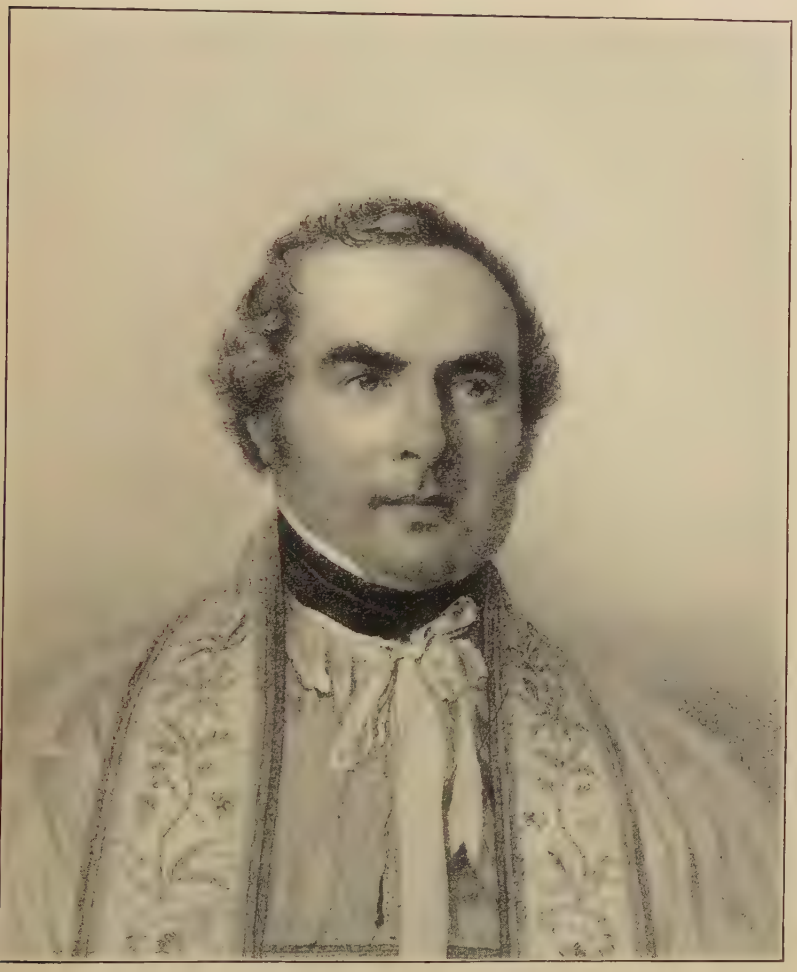
from illness contracted during camp service in the Civil War, and was buried from St. Augustine's church in Philadelphia, the Rev. Dr. Moriarty, rector of Our Lady's church at the Hill, delivering the funeral discourse.

Lydia C. Longstreth baptized with her brother Joseph at the age of seven, graduated from Eden Hall, died on Sunday November 2, 1890, at the residence of her husband Jesse Tomlinson at Wissahickon Heights, and was buried from Our Lady's church at the Hill in Cathedral cemetery, where also were interred her two brothers and parents.

Of the two eldest children of Judge Longstreth, neither John, whom we have already named,—the valedictorian of Georgetown, nor his brother Charles, a conveyancer, followed the steps of his brothers and sister.

* Both Judge Longstreth, who died Thursday, April 26, 1855, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his wife, deceased nearly eighteen years later—on Saturday, November 30, 1872, in her sixty-eighth year, were buried in Cathedral cemetery, in West Philadelphia.

† *Germantown Telegraph*, in its editorial (noted ahead.)



Fr. P. E. Moriarty. O.S.D.

the Church in the neighborhood of Chestnut Hill, of whom at least there is any positive recollection.*

With her living also in continuous service with the Cookes, then with the Longstreths, was one Alice Devir, a baptized Catholic, who as a child had been intrusted by her parents to the care of Lydia Barton Price, grandmother of Mary E. Longstreth. On her marriage with one Milliman, a Methodist by profession, Alice Devir embraced the belief of her husband, wherein she died.†

Yet among other early Faithful in the neighborhood of the Hill, besides those just named,—we are still speaking of the '40s,—was Leonard B. Streeper, who with wife and family at one time residents of St. Augustine's parish in Philadelphia, lived on the Ridge Road, not far from Barren Hill, at the old house once a tavern, where lodged General Lafayette, known by the name of that hero. This Leonard Streeper, his father, and all his family, were attendants at St. Mary's at the Hill, in the early years of its corporate existence.

We come now to the name of one of St. Mary's first worshippers, who will necessarily be encountered frequently in the following pages relating to that shrine. This is Joseph Middleton, who a year or so after his marriage (in '37) with Lydia Cooke, taking up his residence at the west foot of Chestnut Hill built himself a home.

In 1854, with his wife and children, though not on the same day, he was received into the Catholic Church, by Father Domenec, mission-rector of St. Vincent's at Germantown. He was a descendant in the fourth degree from John Middleton and his wife Esther Gilberthorpe, residents in the XVIIth century at Chesterfield, in Monmouth county,

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* Earlier of course were Thomas Lloyd and family with others mentioned ahead.

† The names of these two family retainers in the Cooke household are given (as noted ahead) in the yearly *Reports* of St. Charles Seminary in connection with the legacy of Charles Cooke.

in New Jersey. Joseph Middleton was the youngest of the nine children born to Gabriel Middleton of Philadelphia, and the only child by his second wife Margaret (McKee) Longstreth, of whose five children by a former marriage (with Joseph Longstreth), the third born Morris became Catholic.*

In 1839, Joseph Middleton had purchased at the western foot of the Hill, from Jacob Paul Jones, an iron-merchant of Philadelphia, a piece of land described in one of the title-deeds of the place (dated April 30, 1765,) as being part of it on the "Manatawney Great Road," a few years later, in 1773, called merely the "Manatawney Road", then still later the "Germantown and Perkiomen Turnpike Road".†

This ancient colonial highway, running up the Hill past Mount St. Joseph's Academy, started from the Indian-named settlement of Manatawney in Berks county, whence it led to Philadelphia. Here Joseph Middleton built himself a residence, which in memory of the country-place of Jefferson—his political idol, he named "Monticello", the title of the property purchased by the sisters of St. Joseph in 1858. Thus in earlier times, nor even yet has the fashion died wholly away, were people wont to keep alive the memories of their heroes, belonged these to the realm of religion, letters, statecraft, or war, as well as of the beauties and charms of their native-place.

As said Joseph Middleton was received into the Catholic Church in 1854, having been baptized therein on Tuesday

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* Gabriel Middleton, grandfather of the writer, was born at Crosswicks in New Jersey, January 20, 1773, and died in Philadelphia, February 20, 1850.

Charles S. Ogden in his *Quaker Ogdens in America, 1682–1897*, (Phila., 1898,) states (p. 94) that "Gabriel Middleton was an overseer of Green Street Meeting, one of the trustees, prominent at the time of the separation of the Friends; that both he and his wife Margaret were "Hicksites,"—and, adhering to the primitive style of dress favored by members of that belief, was at the time of his death the last of the "knee-breeches" of the Society. Gabriel Middleton is buried at Fair Hill graveyard in Philadelphia.

† The Indian word "Manatawney" is said by Watson to be a corruption of *Menhattanink*, a Leni-Lenape term that means the place "where we drank (liquor.)" (Watson's *Annals*, ii, 180.)

"April 4" of that year, so at least is recorded the date of his baptism at Germantown. And a few days later on Wednesday, the 19th of the same month, in their home by the same clergyman, that had baptized their father, were also received into the Church his six children—the youngest a mere babe in arms, the eldest only twelve, who because of their youth could not well be taken to St. Vincent's for that sacred rite.*

Here then at their home the saving waters of Faith were poured on these youngsters in the very same room, then "back parlor", now used by the sisters as passage-way from the old mansion, (still in large part unchanged,) to the south wing of their convent; the god-parents of this infantile sextet being their own double-first cousins—Joseph Cooke and Lydia Cooke Longstreth. While a few days later the mother of these "innocents", following (as it were) instead of leading the footsteps of her offspring, in the way of righteousness, was herself baptized by the same Father Domenec at Germantown. Thus at "Monticello" the household one in blood was now one also in Faith.

The following episode anent the baptism of these children seems permissible in our story, as it relates to the first known conferral of this sacrament at the Hill.

A few lines ahead it was stated that six children only were baptized by Fr. Domenec in that "back parlor", while in all seven of them were present at this initiation into holy Faith, one of them—the youngest, only a few months old, albeit the fact was unknown to the parents of the babe, being already a baptized Christian and the first of its immediate family to be a member of the Catholic Church. We explain. At the moment Fr. Domenec started to get the seven neophytes for baptism in line, the youngest in the arms

* In the *Baptismal Register* at Germantown, Father Domenec in recording these seven baptisms has set them down as administered at the same time "April 3,"—an error, the father of these children having been baptized one day—April 4, his offspring another.

of its nurse, unexpectedly to the great marvel of all present —to the mother of the babe perhaps most of all—a mystery was unveiled by the nurse, that (so she said) a short while before when the child had been in grave danger of life, she herself had then baptized the little weakling. Thereupon from questioning the maid as to the manner in which she had performed this rite, Fr. Domenec finding that baptism had been conferred duly, did nothing else than merely supply the ceremonies needed for the fulfilment of ritual. This nurse—Bridget Duffy,—we may add,—was a person of good birth, and education, having been taught by nuns in Ireland—her birth-place; and was very quiet and refined in her ways. On her leaving service at the Hill, she went to Cincinnati, where having married in the meantime she passed the rest of her days in the enjoyment of wealth. At "Monticello" lived also her sister, Anne, another child's nurse, who subsequently engaged in dress-making, then on her marriage with an English gentleman, named Wellsford, or something like, went to New York, where she died.

Here I add a few lines descriptive of some of the social results attending the conversion of the owner of "Monticello" and his family,—a grace, that albeit affording much mental rest in his possession of the Faith, was yet followed by considerable worldly suffering and travail,—nothing new however as we learn from the history of Christendom,—in the sacrifices required of neophytes. A short time following his baptism, after the usual formal warning,—"expostulation", I believe is the term, given by the authorities in Quakerdom, (Joseph Middleton had been a member of Plymouth meeting,) and his instant refusal to take any backward step, he was solemnly "read out of meeting", a form of religious procedure (in vogue among "Friends") corresponding to the rite of excommunication in the Christian Church. To this ban of the Society ensued a species of social ostracism on the part of many of his one-time ac-

quaintances,—a breaking off of all friendly ties with his former fellow-religionists, as well as many old-time neighbors. Between them there was no more visiting; on the high-way barely a nod of recognition; while,—it is almost needless to observe,—the rites of hospitality remained henceforth in large measure merely a memory. Such was the malison of the world on these newly-born Christians. And so much for the earliest Catholic residents in Our Lady's mission field in the first half of the XIXth century.

In the '50s, it should be observed, largely through immigration, the number of Faithful around the Hill increased rapidly. Besides the members of the Church hitherto named in this sketch as pioneers in what may be styled the future mission of St. Mary's, were John Devereux, at first resident in Montgomery county near the settlement now known as Ambler, then, in 1859, on the Hill itself, on Chestnut avenue, in the house opposite St. Mary's rectory, whence he removed in February, 1866.*

Then there was a Mr. Bear, or some name like this, resident on Summit street, a gentleman of good birth, of Scottish family, who on his marriage in Scotland beneath his rank, albeit his spouse was in every other his equal, was therefore estranged from his kinsfolk. Coming to the United States, Mr. Bear engaged in the importation of silks, making a trip therefore yearly to Europe. Then leaving Chestnut Hill,—his residence for a year or so,—he went to New York, where (so far as we know) all traces of him vanish. Both he and his wife were faithful Catholics.

Another was William L. Hirst, the well-known Philadelphia lawyer, for long years legal adviser to the bishop of Philadelphia, and his spouse Adele Cochran, both now de-

* Colonel John Devereux, son of John Devereux and his wife Helen C. Snyder, now living at Wayne, in Delaware county, is a lineal descendant (through his father) of Lionel Brittin, a Philadelphia Catholic of the XVIIth century, and the first known convert to the Catholic Faith in Pennsylvania.

ceased,* whose summer-house still standing, though now for many years untenanted, is at the corner of Rex avenue and Perkiomen pike.† Both these gentlemen Messrs. Bear and Hirst were comparatively new-comers in the neighborhood.

Besides these were John Bischoff and wife, Germans by birth, with their children, lately residents at Manayunk, where Mr. Bischoff, by profession a teacher of music and singing, followed his calling, as he afterwards did at the Hill. Here among his earliest pupils were two granddaughters of John Cooke, one the daughter of Judge Longstreth, of "Valley Green", the other, who lived at "Monticello", subsequently was one of St. Mary's first choristers, and later on Catholic. (This was Lydia B. Cooke.) Mr. Bischoff purchasing from Joseph Middleton and William W. Piper the place adjoining (on the west) what is now the property of Chancellor C. English, built thereon a house, where he lived many years. In all this old-time couple were blessed with nine children, John, Frank, Joseph, Ambrose, Amelia, Louisa, Ella, Florence and Adele, some of whom will be mentioned elsewhere in these papers.

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* William Lucas Hirst died at Bedford Springs, (Pa.,) Wednesday, August 30, 1876, aged seventy-four years; his (first) wife Adele in Philadelphia on Monday, February 8, 1858, aged thirty-five. They were parents of six children—William, Anthony, James, Stephen, Adele and Frances. (In 1859, Mr. Hirst married again.)

† It was in Mr. Hirst's house at the Hill, afterwards residence of Caleb Cope, that Doctor Moriarty, first missionary in charge of St. Mary's, lodged during his first winter in 1855-56, the presbytery not being ready for occupancy till the early summer of the latter year.

(To be continued.)

THE RECORDS

OF THE

PARISH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

AT POST VINCENNES, IND.

A.D. 1749—1773.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY REV. EDMOND J. P. SCHMITT,
Fellow and Life Member of the Texas State Historical Association

THE following is a *verbatim et literatim* translation of the "Earliest Records" of the Parish of St. Francis Xavier, at Post Vincennes, on the Wabash River. That it was undertaken and completed is due to the constant urging of the Hon. William H. English, late President of the Indiana Historical Society, and author of "*The Conquest of the Northwest Territory.*"

The following abbreviations are used in the translation:

Ba. = Baptized; *Ba. L.* = Baptism conferred by a layman; *Ban.* = Banns; *Bo.* = Born; *Bu.* = Buried; *Dis.* = Dispensed; *D.* = Died; *Da.* = Daughter; *F.* = Father; *G. F.* = Godfather; *G. M.* = Godmother; *Gr. F.* = Grandfather; *Gr. M.* = Grandmother; *Im.* = Impediments; *Leg.* = Legitimate; *Ma.* = Mark, *i.e.*, made his mark when the party could not write; *Miss. Pr.* = Missionary Priest; *Mo.* = Mother; *Pr.* = Married in Presence of; *Pub.* = Published; *S.* = Son; *Sp.* = Sponsors; *W.* = Witnesses.

Blank brackets signify that the space was either illegible or faded or part of the paper torn away.

THE TRANSLATOR.

[1] Record of Baptisms for the Savages of Post Vincennes.

1.

25. June, 1749, ba. Jean Baptiste, S. of piere giapichagane le petit chis & of Catherine mgkicge. G. F. francois filatraux la framboise; G. M. Marie mikitchensecge.

Sebast. Lud Meurin S. J.
filliatrau.

2.

26. June, 1749. ba. Catherine mgkicge wife of petit chis. G. F. la france: G. M. Marianne chicamicge.

S. L. Meurin.

3.

10 April, 1751, ba. Da. of pierre giapichagane le petit chis & of Catherine mgkicge. one month old. G. F. philibert surnamed Orleans, soldier of the garrison: G. M. Anne du devoir.

S. L. Meurin. Jes.

4.

30 October, 1752, ba. Catherine nitg naniga a Miami eighty years of age. G. F. Jean Bapt. Butet: G. M. Anne du devoir.

S. L. Meurin. S. J.

5.

In the year 1766 ba. l. according the intention of the church a little girl daughter of a savage. G. F. joseph Braso; G. M. Marie Anne du devoir. The little girl aged eight days was called Marie Anne at the Poste the 9th of february. joseph Brazaux

Phillibert.

[2] blank.

[3] Record of Marriages for the Savages of Post Vincennes.

6.

Conferred nuptial benediction on pierre giapichagane called le petit chis & Catherine mgkicge [already united in a natural marriage for a long time] the 26th of June, 1749.

S. L. Meurin, J.

7.

[4 and 5] blank.

[6] 3. July, 1749. pub. ban. no Im. received mutual consent of marriage and conferred nuptial benediction on antoine chaganon & Marie Sgnghigrita Illinois in presence of witnesses.

S. L. Meurin, Jesuite.

[7, 8 & 9] blank.

[10] Record of the Marriages of the French of Post Vincennes, 27 May, 1749.

8.

[13]

26 November, 1749, pub. ban. I the undersigned missionary of the company of Jesus, fulfilling the functions of pastor received the mutual consent of marriage and conferred the nuptial benediction with the ceremonies prescribed by Holy Church on Louis Crepaux and louise perthuis of the parish of Ville Marie, Da. of Nicolas perthuis and Louise Chauvin, in presence of Monsieur St. Ange, Lieutenant of a company of infantry detached from the Marine. [Companie d'infanterie detachée de la Marine] Commandant of Poste Vincennes, Nicolas perthuis, pierre perthuis, Mr. Drouet de Richardville, jean Baptiste Racine witnesses who signed with me.

S. L. Meurin, Jes.

St. Ange
jan batis rasine Perthuis.

9.

20 April, 1750. pub. ban. bet. Jean Baptiste Butos & Marie Anne Chicamicge widow of antoine Marié residents of this parish: no Im. pres. of St. Ange, Julien trottier des Rivieres, Nicolas perthuis, Orleans, la framboise, &c.,

S. L. Meurin, S. J.

St. Ange Perthuis Desrivieres Phillibert
butos dit Orleans.

Ma. × of Mariane chicamicge.
Ma. × of du tremble.

10.

26th. Oct. 1750, pub. ban. bet. jean baptiste Renault parish of Varennes & therese Mallet, Da. of Antoine Malette, & therese Margotte of the parish of Villemarie: no Im.

S. L. Meurin, S. J.

St. Ange., therese Maillot, des riviéres.
Bonaux, Nicola Ladainé.

11.

[14]

10. August, 1751, pub. ban. bet. joseph, a Paducah & Marie louise a Chickasaw: both slaves of toussaint la framboise. no Im.

S. L. Meurin, S. J.

Ma. toussaint
la fram × boise. butos.
jan batis sain marié.

12.

24. June, 1753, 2 ban. pub. 3d Dis., bet. Joseph Estev of the parish of St. Anne of Detroit S. of Pierre Estev & Marie Magdeleine Biler, & Marie Joseph Belin Da. of Joseph Alexi Belin & Marie Magdeleine St. Amand. no Im. J. Baptiste Guilbert, jacques Charbonneau, nicolas Chaport & Pierre Perron.

L. VIVIER, MISSIONARY OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS.

Ma. Pierre Perron. ×
Ma. J. B. Guilbert. ×
Nicolas Schappert
Jaque Chalbonnaut.

13.

20. May, pub. ban. bet. Joseph & charlotte slaves of toussaint la framboise. Received their mutual consent and conferred nuptial benediction [15] pres. Jean B. Butault & J. Bap. Guilbert.

L. VIVIER, S. J.

butos × Ma. of J. B. Guilbert.

14.

28. August, 1756. pub. 1 ban. 2 dis. bet. J. B. Vaudry, of the parish of St. Anne of Detroit, S. of Joseph Vaudry & Marie Le Page & Agnes Richard Da. of Richard & Marianne Le Decouverte. no Im. J. Bte. Racine, Philippe Damot

L. VIVIER, S. J.

jan batis rasint
philippe dagnieau.

15.

23. November, 1756. pub. 2 ban. 1 dis. bet. Jean Baptiste Racine Bo. at Quebec S. of Louis Racine & Louise Levasseur, & Anne Du Devoir Da. of Claude du Devoir & Barbe Cardinal. no. Im. pres. of Mr. St. Ange & Denis Girardot.

JULIEN DEVERNAI. S. J.,

francois racine Louis St. Ange.
Girardot
Dagnieau.

16.

[16]

3. January, 1757 pub. 3 ban. bet. Pierre perthuis Bo. at Montreal S. of pierre perthuis & Angelique Vital, & Marie Magdeleine Vaudry Da. of joseph Vaudry & Marie Lepage. no Im. pres. Mr. St. Ange & Denis Girardot.

JUL. DEVERNAI, S. J.

Girardot.

S. Ange.

17.

25. January, 1757. pub. 3 ban. bet. Antoine Lefebvre Bo. in the parish of La magdeleine of Montreal, S. of Laurent le fevre & Marie Genevieve bodin, & Louise Caron Bo. at detroit Da. of Vital Caron & Magdeleine pruneau. no. Im. pres. Mr. St. Ange & Mr. Girardot.

JUL DEVERNAI S: J:

Girardot St. Ange.

18.

5 December, 1758 conferred nuptial benediction on joseph a Paducah & Charlotte, both slaves of the Sr. Antoine La framboise. in presence of Mr. bonneau de Ste. Marie.

JUL: DEVERNAI S. J.
Charles Bonnau
janmarite:—

19.

29 January 1758 pub. 2 ban. 1 dis. bet. Antoine bordeleau Bo. at Quebec S. of Antoine bordeleau & Magdeleine Savarie & Catherine Caron Bo. at Detroit Da. of Vital Caron & Madeleine pruneau, no. Im. pres. of Mr. richardville des rivieres, boneau Menard etc.,

JUL DEVERNAI JESUITE.

Ma. × Mr. richardville
Ma. × Menard
Des riviere
Bonnau.

20.

[17]

23. October, 1759, pub. 2 ban. disp. 1. bet. Antoine barada Bo. at Hassarux in Gascony S. of jean barada & jeanne Dupin, and Marguerite des rosiers, Da. of bonavanture des rosiers & Marguerite du rivage. no Im. pres. peret, Caron, richardville:

JUL. DEVERNAI JESUITE.

Mare feenelty
Nicolas Schabbert
Pierre
Dubra

Pierre Baillio
Ma × Mr. Richardville
therese Maillom
Veuve Mallet.

21.

28 January 176. pub. 3 ban. bet. pierre Menan Bo. at Maré near tours S. of francois Menan & anne nourri, & marie Louise Mangin Bo. at Montreal, Da. of francois Mangin & Marie angelique du devoir. no Im. in pres. pierre dubras & pierre bouvier.

JUL DEVERNAI JESUITE

pierre Dubra Soudat Bonnau
pierre fondeux sodat.
Pierre Bouvier.
Nicolas Schabert Rasintnte
Veuve Mallet let barada.

22.

5 May, 1760, pub. 2 ban. dis. 1. bet. pierre gauder S. of francois gauder & agnesse richard Bo. at ouias, & susanne bollon Da. of Gabriel bollon & Susanne menard Bo. at St. Joseph. no Im. pres. Mr. Charles bonneau & pierre bouvier philippe daigneau & Louis boyer.

JUL. DEVERNAI JESUITE

23.

Charle Bonnau pierre Bouvier daigneau
Ma. × Louis Boyer.

24.

[18]

12 July, 1760 conferred nuptial benediction on Susanne & joseph slaves of Mr. Crepeau, pres. Sieurs bordélau & St. Marie.

jul: Devernai jesuite.
Sent mari
crepeau

Ma. × Mr. Bordeleau.

25.

19th October, 1760, pub 2 ban. disp. 1. bet. jean Baptist St. Aubin S. of jean baptiste St. Aubin & Madeleine pruneau Bo. at Detroit & Marie Louise denie Da. of jacque denie & Marie Louise de Signes, Bo. at Montreal. no. Im. pres. jean chabot jean antoine Doni jean baptiste racine, pierre peron.

jul devernai jesuite

janbatis rasin
jean Antoine donis dit St. Vincent
Ma. × jean chabot.

26.

4 January, 1761. pub 3 bans. bet. Nicolas Cardinal S. of jacques Cardinal & Marie jeanne duque, & Marie Girard Da. of jean Bapt. Girard & Marie Joseph raimond. no Im. pres. philippe Daigneau, Charles bonneau, jean chabot. joseph prou.

jul. Devernai

daigneau
Charle Bonot nl[?]
Ma. × jean chabot.
Ma. × joseph prou

26 bis.

19 January, 1761, pub 3 ban. bet. jean Louis Denoyon S. of jean baptiste denoyon & louise blin Bo. at boucherville, & marie amable pellu Da. of pierre pellu & angelique. Le Comte Bo. at Montreal. no Im. pres. Charle boneau & francois Latour, Mr. Richarville, and jean . . .

Jul Devernai jesuite.

27.

[19] . . . " Charle Bonnau tint francois la tour temont St. Marie. Ma. × Mr. richarville.

[There is only this portion of the above entry, which I give verbatim. —Editor.]

28.

31 March 176[?] pub. 3 bans. bet. rené Gauder S. of francois Gauder & agnes richard, Bo. at mis & Catherine Campos Da. of Nicolas Campos & agatha St. Aubin, Bo. at detroit. no Im. pres. philip dagneau Louis grondine francois fillatro, Charles bonneau.

jul. Devernai jesuite

Bonneau daignieau
Grandine hamelin
Phiatro
rene Coder.

29.

15 June, 1762, Ba. jacques S. of the Pani of Mr. boneau Bo. yesterday evening. G. F. jacques Chalbonneau G. M. jeanne du Devoir.

jul Devernai jesuite
jacque Chalbonnau

Ma. × of G. M.

30.

23 August, 1763. pub. 2 ban. dis. 1. bet. Michel oisi S. of pierre oisi & therese voux Bo. at champlain, & barbe du Devoir Da. of Claude du Devoir & barbe Cardinal Bo. at Montreal. no. Im. pres. phillip daigneau jean chabot francois fillatro. etienne Phillibert

jul Devernai jesuite

Phillibert.

Ma. × jean chabot
phiatro.

31.

[20]

17 October 1763. pub. 2 ban. dis—1. bet. piere quéré S. of piere quere & marie anne Lefebvre Bo. at St. Michel & marie joseph antara Da. of joseph antara & mari soseph Richard. no Im. pres. jean antoine donis joseph baier, Louis Menard, jacques quesnel etienne Phillibert, ph. roy jean Gauder.

Jul. Devernai jesuite
Phillibert

jacques quesnel
joseph pailliez jean antoine donys
françois godenet
rene Codére tin.

32.

10. February 1770 recd. mutual consent of marriage of pierre Cartier Bo. at St. Francois, parish of the government of Three Rivers, & heleine L'allemand who took each other as man and wife in the absence of a priest, and this pres. Jean Bte. St. Marie Racine, Jean Bte. Perron Rene Codere Alexis La Deroute.

P. Gibault Miss. Pr.

33.

26 February 1770 pub. 2 ban. disp. 1. bet. Guillaume pagé native of Cap Jante parish of the government of Quebec S. of francois page & Marguerite Laroche: —— bet. josepte Schabart of this parish S. of Nicolas Schabart & Marie Clair Stoephen, no. Im. I. Vicar General of Mgr. the Bishop of Quebec, pres. Michel Danis & Jean Bte Milhomme friend of the spouse; on the side of Marie Clair Stoephen the M. francoise Schabart her Sister, Jean Bte. Deslauriers, françois riddai dt. Beauseron.

Gibault V. gl.

marie joseph Chapard
francoise Chapard.
fr. Bosseron.

34.

[21] 27 february, 1770 Disp. 3 ban. bet. joseph Desrochers native of the parish Du portage government of Montreal S. of Jean Des Rochers & Marie Vaudrie & Jeanne Perron of this parish Da. of pierre perron & deceased francoise Des fouries. no Im. pres. philibert Royal notary at the poste, Etienne Bray françois Bray friends of the bridegroom and on the side of the bride La frambroise her G. F. & Jean Bte St. Marie Racine.

P. Gibault. Pr. Vre Gl.

35.

10 February 1770. recd. mutual consent of Pierre La forest native of the bay of St. Anthony of the government of Three Rivers, S. of Pierre Laforest & Josepte Buret, & Marianne Emelin widow of Joseph de la feuillade who had taken each other as husband and wife in the absence of a priest. pres. nicolas thibault Joseph Sabolle Louis Deline & Beaulon.

Gibault.

35 bis.

19th March 1770, Disp. from 3. ban. & forbidden time of Lent in favor of Joseph Paillé native of the parish of Villemarie Montreal. & living at the post of the gatanons S. of Gabriel Paillé & Marie Guillemot, & Magdeleine St. Germain Lamoureux native of St. Joseph Da.

of pierre St. Germain Lamoureux & felicité Charignon, we the Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec at present at the post of Vincennes on the gabache . . . . pres. of Sr. Perthuis, Rapinault, tierray, Et Denaux la chine Perthuis ballon. Antoine Marie

Hipolite
×
Bolon.

Ma. × Denaux. M. × Brouillet.

joseph pailliez. Rapinault. Gibault Pr. V. Gl.

36.

[22]

8 February, 1770, recd mutual consent of Louis Codere native of gatanons & Elisabeth Levron native of Montreal who had already taken each other as husband and wife, pres. of witnesses on account of the absence of a priest, three of their children born during that period have been legitimated, namely: francoise Agnes three years and a half, Marie Joseph two years, & Louis about three months of age.

Gibault, Pr.

rene Codere Jaque dequirau

37.

4 February, 1771, we the V. G. in the country of the Illinois have Ba. the following children: to wit: therese, Bo. 12 April last year, of leg. marriage of Charles Bonneau & Genevieve Du Devoir, G. F. Joseph Gamelin. G. M. Agnés Boyer . . . . Anne her twin-sister, Bo. same day and year and same parents as above. G. F. Charles Villeneuve & G. M. Suzanne Beaulon wife of pierre Codere . . . . . pierre Bo. 1st October. leg. marriage of Pierre Cartier & heleine Lalemand his wife. G. F. J. Bte. Vaudrie & G. M. Josepte Codere . . . . . Guillaume Bo. 12th May of last year, leg. marriage of Guillaume Daperon & Marie Louise Clairmont his wife. G. F. Jean Bte. huberdeau & G. M. Marie Josepte Danis . . . . . francoise, Bo. 9 November of last year, leg. marriage of Pier Cournoyer & Angelique Racine G. F. francoise Gilbert & G. M. Anne Du Devoir . . . . . Jean Bte. Bo. 30 April of last year, leg. marriage of Antoine Bordeleau & Catherine Carron his wife. G. F. Jean Bt. Caron. G. M. Marie Joseph Girard . . . . . francois Bo. 8 September of last year, leg. marriage of Nicolas Cardinal & Marie Joseph Girard his wife. G. F. andre St. Dizier & G. M. Marie Josepte Antoya . . . . . Jean Bte. Bo. 7 April of last year, leg. marriage of René Codere & Catherine Campeau his wife. G. F. Jean Bte. Joyel & G. M. Marie Joseph Girard.

P. Gibaut. Pr. V. G.

I placed two baptisms for the year 1775 in another Book of Records.

38.

[23] 4. February 1771 Ba. 3 children. felicité Bo. 10 March of last year, leg. marriage of Louis St. Germain & felicité La feuillade, his wife, G. F. Michel Brouillet & G. M. Barbe Bonneau . . . . . Marie Joseph Bo. 10 June of last year, leg. marriage of Alexis La Plante & Marie therese Denis Veronau his wife. G. F. pierre Denis Veronnau & G. M. Marie Joseph thomas . . . . . Marie Louise Bo. 28 October of last year, leg. marriage of Louis De Ligne & Marie Joseph thomas his wife. G. F. françois Gravel & G. M. Marie Anne Pallu wife of Louis Denoyon. The father of Marie Louise being present signed

Pre. Gibault. Pr. V. G.

Louis E Deline.

39.

8. February 1771. Ba two adults: to wit: francoise a Red Slave of pierre Perron G. F. Sr. Jean Bte. Huberdeau & G. M. Suzanne Beaulon wife of Pierre Gaudere. The other, named Marie Louise who had received lay baptism and married to honoré Danis. G. F. the Sr. Etienne Philibert Royal Notary & G. M. Anne Du Devoir, wife of Sr. Jean Bte. Racine.

Pre. Gibault, Pr. V. G.

Phillibert
J Bte huberdeau.

40.

14 January 1773 pub. 3. ban. bet. Charles Villeneuve residing in this parish, native of Charlebou [paper torn] . . . S. of Charles Villeneuve & Maguerite Bernard, & Genevieve also of this parish, Da. of deceased Charles Bonneau & deceased Marguerite de Devoir. no Im.

[24] pres. of Sr. Etienne Phillibert & Capucin & Charbonneau & de la tour.

Chal bonnau francois La tour

P. Gibault.

41.

18 January, 1773, pub. 2 ban. disp. 1. bet. Jean Bte tougas B. of Guillaume tougas & Marianne Quintalle of the parish of Boucherville, government of Montreal, & Catherine Crepeau Da. of Louise Crepeau & Marie Louise Perthuis of this parish. no Im. pres. Joseph touga brother of Jacque Jousin & Andre Languedon cousin of the bridegroom, and on the part of the bride Jean Bte St. Marie

Michel Dizi

St. Marit.

P. Gibault V. G.

42.

18 January, 1773 pub. 2 ban. disp. 1. bet. Joseph Chabot native of St. Laurent government of Quebec S. of pierre Chabot de Cecile Jouaine and Ursule Clermont widow of De Comte Da. of Louis Clermont & Louise Bouron native of Detroit, pub. 1 ban. no Im. pres. Capucin, Louis Godere friends of the bridegroom & Vincent La foix & pierre Boyer.

P. Gibault.

43.

21. January, 1773, pub 3 ban. bet. Sr. Ambroise Dagenay, trading at this post, native of the Visitation at the Falls of the Recolets, province of the government of Montreal, [25] S. of Joseph Dagenay & Marie Joseph Chazert, & Dame françoise outlas, widow of messire Antoine Droit De Richarville, native of the Immaculate Concepcion of Notre Dame Des Kaskakia, residing in this parish: no Im. pr. Sr. Capucin, Alexis Du Bois, françois Barrois friends of the Bridegroom. and of the bride, Pierre Cournoyer & francois fiatro.

houtlas

P. Gibault.

H. Capucin.

44.

23 January 1773. baptized conditionally Jean Bte. Bo. 20 April of last year. Leg. marriage of Guillaume pagé & Marie Joseph Chapart: G. F. J. Bte. Chartier. G. M. Barbe Chappart

P. Gibault.

45.

23 January, 1773, Ba. therese Bo. 15 September 1772. of Louis Crepeau & Louis perthuis. G. F. Pierre Gosselin: G. M. Widow Droit de Richerville.

Veuve droite

pierre Gosselin

P. Gibault.

46.

23 January, 1773, B. Conditionally Nicolas. Bo. 2. Nov. 1772 of Louis Beline & Marie Joseph thomas. G. F. Nicolas Baillargeon: G. M. Marie Joseph Levron

L. E. Deline

P. Gibault.

47.

[26]

23. January 1773. Ba. Conditionally. Jacque Bo. 31 December 1772. leg. marriage of Jacques André & Marianne Godfroy. G. F. Jean Bte. Durnette. G. M. Marie Amable St. Aubin, wife of Nicolas thibault.

P. Gibault.

48.

26. January 1773. pub. 1 ban. Disp. 2. bet. Pierre Perron of this parish, S. of Pierre Perron & françoise fournelle. V. Marie therese Roufiance Dt. la Violette native of the parish of Chateau Quay, Da. of francoise Roufiance Dt. la Violette & Marianne poineau. pres. Pierre Perron the father, Jean Bte. Potvin brotherin-law, Jean Bte. Millet, françois Pelletier, friends of the Bridegroom and Bride, Joseph, francois Loignon; francois La Violette & Louis La Violette friends and brothers of the bride.

Miliet witness

P. Gibault.

49.

24 January, 1773 Ba. conditionally Marguerite francoise Bo. 4 October 1772, leg. marriage of Sr. Pierre Gosselin Head Carpenter & Marguerite Baron. G. F. francois Barrois: G. M. Marguerite Beaulon wife of Antoine Morié.

Pierre Gosselin.

P. Gibault.

50.

[27]

24. January 1773. Ba. Conditionally Amable Bo. 15 June, 1772. of Amable Beaulon & Marie Joseph Gaudere who were not yet married on account of the absence of a priest. Caused him to be legitimised at the celebration of their marriage. G. F. françois Gaudere: G. M. Marguerite Beaulon wife of Antoine Marié.

francois Goderre

P. Gibault.

51.

14. February, 1771 pub. 3 ban. bet. Jacque Millet dt. la tremouille, native of Boucherville in Canada, S. of Jacque Millet Dt. La tremouille & Marie La fleur, & Julie tartre native of Illinois. no Im. pres. Jean Bte. Veaudry de Jolin, Loui De Noyon, Nicolas & Jean Bte. Cardinal.

P. Gibault.

52.

16 January 1773 pub. 3 ban. bet. Joseph touya native of Boucherville in Canada S. of Guillaume touya & Marianne Gingtalle & Marie Jeanne Cardinal of this parish, Da. of Jean Bte. Cardinal & Marianne Mallet. no Im. pres. Jean Bte touga brother, la Pelletier, francois Godere, and on the bride's side Jean Bte. Cardinal her father, Nicolas Cardinal her uncle, Charles Du Devoir, Charles Boneau

53.

[28]

24 January, 1773. Ba. Conditionally Marie francoise Bo. 10 April 1772. leg. marriage bet. Joseph Drouin & Marie Charlotte Campeau. G. F. Joseph Boisvert G. M. Elisabeth Clermont.

P. Gibault.

54.

24. January, 1773. Ba. Marie therese Bo. 21. February 1772. leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. Rovalet & Marie francoise favel. G. F. toussaint hunau & Marie Charlotte Campeau.

P. Gibault.

55.

24 January 1773. Ba. toussaint Bo. 31. October 1772. leg. marriage bet. Nicholas Cardinal & Marie Joseph Girard. G. F. Jean Bte Racine G. M. Marie Joseph Custos.

P. Gibault.

56.

24 January, 1773, Ba. Jean Bte. Bo. 10. July 1772. of Sanchon an Indian woman, [slave of Sr. Charles Bosseron] not Ba. & of an unknown father: G. F. Louis Desvegnes G. M. Marie Desvegnes.

P. Gibault.

57.

24 January, 1773. Ba. Charles Bo. 10 June 1772. leg. marriage bet. Antoine Bordeleau & Therese Caron. G. F. Charle Barthelemi. G. M. Jeanne du Devoir.

P. Gibault.

58.

24. January, [1773 crossed out and then the word *treize* written over *douze*.] Ba. francoise Bo. 27 October of last year, leg. marriage bet. Louis Boyer & Marianne Godere. G. F. Pierre Counoyer. G. M. Suzanne Richard.

P. Gibault.

59.

[29.]

24 January, 1773. Ba. Joseph. Bo. 14 April 1772. Leg. marriage bet. Guillaume Dopron & Veronique Clermont. G. F. Joseph Andre: G. M. Angelique Beauchene.

P. Gibault.

60.

24 January 1773. Ba. 4 children:—Suzanne Bo. 30 October 1772. leg. marriage bet. Réné Godere & Catherine Campeau, G. F. Charle Barthelemi & therese Campagnot . . . . . Cecile Bo. 14 December 1772. leg. Marriage bet. Joseph Chabotte & Ursule Clermont, G. F. Jean Chabot & Marie Louise Bouron . . . . . therese Bo. 12 August 1772. leg. marriage bet. Alexis Laplante & Therese Denis. G. F. André Pelletier & Marie Levron . . . . . francoise, B. 2. December, 1772, leg. marriage bet. Jacques Millet, Dit la tremouille & Marie Lafleur. G. F. Jean Bte La fleur G. M. Magdeleine Veaudry.

P. Gibault.

61.

25. January, 1773. pub. 3 ban. bet. Joseph Amelin, native of St. Charles Des Grandines in Canada S. of Laurent Amelin. & Magdeleine Gariepi, & Marianne poudret native of Illinois: No. Im. pres. Srs. St. Marie, Jean Bte. Cardinal, Jean Bte Binet & Etienne philibert.

P. Gibault.

62.

25. January 1773. pub. 3 ban. bet. André la Coste native of Montreal S. of André la Coste & Marie Boutin, & Marie Custos widow of deceased Levron, dit metteller. no Im. pres. Lous E. Deline, Jacque Cardinal, Jean Bte. Racine, nicolas thibault & Andre pelletier.

P. Gibault.

63.

[30]

18 January 1773 Ba. conditionally. Anne Bo. 20 September 1771 leg. marriage bet. Jean chrisostome thiriot. & Julie Campeau G. F. Etienne Philibert, notary & Anne Du Devoir wife of Sr. Jean Baptiste Racine de Ste. Marie Captain of Militia.

Phillibert.

P. Gibault.

64.

26 January 1773 Ba. two adult negro slaves. i.e. francois about forty years of age belonging to Sr. Ste. Marie. G. F. francois Barrois, G. M. Jeannette Racine de Ste. Marie Da. of Jean Baptiste Racine de Ste Marie ——— Alexis belonging to Nicolas Cardinal. G. F. Jean Bte. St. Dizier. G. M. Julie tartre.

P. Gibault.

65.

24. July 1778. pub. 3 ban. bet. Pierre Gamelin native of Detroit S. of deceased Sr. Laurent Gamelin & Dame Joseph Du Devoir, & Ursule Vaudry of this parish, Da. of Jean Bte Vaudry & deceased Agnes Richard. no Im. pres. of witnesses [the same statement is made in the next two entries, but in neither case are any witnesses named].

P. Gibault.

66.

24. July 1778 pub. 3 ban. bet. Nicolas perrot native of Quebec S. of Etienne perrot & Marianne Guinet & marie josepte Edeline of this parish, Da. of Louis Edeline & Marie thomas no. Imped.

P. Gibault.

67.

[31]

24 July, 1778. pub. 3 ban. bet. nicolas Baillargeons & Marie proux, [he adds " ses pere & mere," meaning the names of the parents; which leaves it in doubt whether Le Baillargeons is the bridegroom or the father of that party] & francoise plisson, widow of Jean Bte Demers. no Im.

P. Gibault.

68.

26 July, 1778, pub. 3 ban. bet. Guillaume pagé native of the Diocese of Quebec S. of francois pagé & Marguerite La Roche. & Marie Victoire huneau widow of Antoine Villeray. no Im. pres. Pierre Cartier, Dominique Began, toussaint Codere, nicolas Chapart

P. Gibault.

69.

25 July, 1778, Ba. S. of an Indian slave named Etienne, belonging to Jean Bte Vaudire & Marie Louise Cara. He was named Etienne Jacque. G. F. Jean Bte. Vaudry G. M. Suzanne Codere

P. Gibault.

70.

9 July, 1779. pub. 3 ban. bet. Jean Baptiste Renault of this parish, S. of deceased Jean Baptiste Renault Deslauriers & of deceased therese Mallet and native of this parish, & Marie Magdeleine Bordeleau native of this parish & Da. of Antoine Bordeleau & Catherine Carron. no Im. pres. [32] Louis and françois Renault des lauriers brothers of the bridegroom. Louis, françois and Antoine Mallet his uncles. André Roy & toussaint Codere his friends: On the part of the bride, Antoine Bordeleau her F. and Catherine Caron her M. olivier Santier her cousin and G. F. Jean Bte Caron and Louis St. Aubin her uncles, pierre Mallet & pierre cournoyer.

P. Gibault.

[33] 1750.

Records of Deaths in the Parish at Post Vincennes.

71.

16. December D. a leg. son of Nicolas Chappert after Ba. L. 17th Bu. in the cemetery of this parish.

S. L. Meurin S. J.

72.

16. December 1750 D. in this parish Marguerite Du rivage wife of Bonaventure Des rosiers de tremble resident of this parish, after confessing and receiving extreme unction. Holy viaticum could not be administered as she was out of mind. Body Bu. with the usual ceremonies in the cemetery of this parish the 17th day of the said month and year.

S. L. Meurin S. J.

73.

6 December, 1750. D. Agnes Godere Da. of françois Godere & Agnés Richard residing at Quiatanons about a year old, died in the river 15 leagues from this post. Her body was brought here and Bu. in the church of this parish near the sanctuary on the epistle side on the 23. December 1750.

S. L. Meurin Jes.

74.

27 December 1750 D. in this parish Josette Marie Wife of julien trottier Desrivieres, trading in this poste, 18 years of age, after having confessed and received the Holy Viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction. Her body was Bu. with the usual ceremonies in the church of this parish under her bench on the gospel side the 28th of said month and year.

S. L. Meurin. Jes.

75.

20 January 1751 D. in this parish jean Baptiste slave of Buttos resident of this poste, 9 years of age. His body was Bu. with the usual ceremonies in the cemetery of this parish.

S. L. Meurin Jes.

76.

4. January 1751. D. in this parish julien du tremble S. of Bonaventure du tremble & Marguerite durivage one month old. Bu. in the cemetery.

L. S. Meurin. Jes.

77.

15. February, 1751, D. in this parish Julien desriviers S. of julien des rivieres & josette marié two months old. Bu. with the usual ceremonies in the church of this parish near the body of his M.

S. L. Meurin S. J.

78.

2 December 1751 D. on a hunting expedition six leagues from this parish, Catherine gritg nanigou a Miami eighty and some years of age. Bu. in the cemetery the 3d December 1751.

Meurin.

79.

[34]

16 December 1751 D. in this parish, Marie Louise Wife of Joseph, slaves of toussaint la framboise about 20 years of age. Confessed and recd. extreme unction. Bu. in the cemetery the same day on account of too great a danger of infection.

S. L. MEURIN. Jes.

80.

29 December. D. a Child of 4 months Da. of Alexandre and dorothée negroes of the fathers.

81.

11. October 1752 D. in this parish Jean Bte Lanson Escortain (Escort?) de la riviere des prairies in Canada about 30 years of age. Confessed. Sudden death, not having time to administer Holy Viaticum and Extreme unction. Bu. in the cemetery the 12 October.

S. L. Meurin Jes.

82.

17 October 1752 D. in this parish a negro child son of Alexandre & dorothée, negroes belonging to the Rev. Jesuit Fathers. Aged about six or seven months. Bo. & recd. L. Ba. on the 17th of the same month. Bu. in the cemetery.

S. L. Meurin Jes.

[This like the foregoing case of the same negroes: look for a correct wording. E. J. P. S.]

83.

26 December 1752 D. in this parish Etienne Lajeunesse dit B andré Escortain of Thousand Islands in Canada, 42 years of age after having received the sacraments of penitence & extreme unction.

A [*blank*] prevented me from giving him Holy Viaticum. Bu. in the cemetery the 27.

S. L. Meurin S. J.

84.

5 March, 1753, D. in this parish Marie Magdeleine St. Amand wife of Alexis Carriere resident and Corporal of the garrison of this post, 55 years of age. Received Holy Viaticum & Extreme Unction. Bu. in the cemetery the 6.

S. L. Meurin.

85.

24. November 1753 D. in this parish Pierre Leonardy Lieutenant of a Company of detached Marines. Received the sacraments, Bu. the following day. I do not know his age nor his native place.

Vivier. S. J.

Having found among the papers of Mr. De Leonardy his certificate of baptism, I found that he was the S. [he has fille] of Mr. Jean Henry Leonardy Artificer to the King at Phalcebourg & of Mad. jeanne foco his wife; that he was Bo. in the aforesaid city the 4 November 1720 & that he had been Ba. the 5th of the same month.

86.

17. Sept. 1754. D. in this parish Jean hamon native of the Diocese of Cornouaille (not knowing the parish) Recd. the sacraments. Bu. the following day.

Vivier S. J.

87.

20. November 1754. D. in this parish, Gabriel Robert, soldier. Recd. the sacraments Bu. the 21st.

Vivier S. J.

88.

28. October 1755. D. in this parish, Claude la france native of the prairie of St. Magdeleine. Bu. 29.

Vivier S. J.

89.

6. December 1755. D. in this parish. Jean Bte Sauxerre native of Ville Marie Recd. Sacraments. Bu. 7.

Vivier S. J.

90.

12. December 1755. D. in this parish, Alexis Domean dit La Guerre native of Guerre in Brittany, Diocese of St. Malo. forty three years of age Bu. 13.

Vivier S. J.

91.

6. February Bu. Angelique Da. of francoise Indian slave of deslauriers.

Vivier S. J.

92.

13. September 1781 we chanter [precentor or lay-clerk] and guardian of the parish of St. francois Xavier on the Wabash in the absence of a priest, Bu. in the cemetery of this church the body of Charles Louis Olivier Doctor [or leech. Santier is the word used.] and Surgeon in this post. D. yesterday. He gave before all present signs of a christian death.

Phillibert, Chanter and Guardian [of] the aforesaid Parish of St. Xavier.

93.

[35]

10 february 1756. Bu. francoise. Pani slave of Deslauriers D. the preceding day.

Vivier S. J.

94.

9 { 10. March Ba. Etienne Bo. leg. marriage bet. Alexandre & Dorothée. Slaves of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers. G. F. Philibert. G. M. Anne Du Devoir Vivier.

[This entry is cancelled but the following signatures not.]

Phillibert.

Ma. Anne du Devoir ×

95.

11. April 1756. Bu. Charlotte leg. wife of Padouca slaves of toussaint La framboise

Vivier S. J

95 bis.

14 April 1756. Bu. Marie of the pianguichias nation leg. wife of toussaint la framboise. I administered the Sacraments.

Vivier S. J.

96.

15. July Bu. Jean Bte. La framboise S. of antoine La framboise & Marie of the pianguichias nation. Received the Sacraments.

Vivier S. J.

97.

12. November Bu. Ursule Goder Da. of francois Goder & Agnés richard Administered the Sacraments.

Devernay S. J.

98.

16. November, Bu. an Indian woman belonging to Ste Marie.

Devernay.

99.

12 January 1757 Bu. pierre Mastou of the company des neville. Administered the Sacraments.

jul Devernai

100.

29 March, 1757, Bu. francois loiseau soldier of the company darus. Administered the Sacraments.

jul. Devernai.

101.

5. January 1757 Bu. Pierre Messin Soldier, discharged. Administered the Sacraments.

Jul. Devernai

102.

2 July 1758 Bu. joseph Bissonet S. of joseph Bissonet & Marguerite Castangue Administered the Sacraments.

Jul. Devernai.

(To be continued.)

REMINISCENCES.

Reminiscences of Sister M. Teresa White.*

Memories of the early days of Catholicity in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, and Broome, of New York, may be of interest in the Records, though not formal history. Now in my seventieth year, I can remember those early days, though too young to have been an actor in the various incidents which occurred. The dark forests I see before me as of yesterday, and remember the dread reality of wolves, the wild cats stealing the lambkins, and many other things that go with early settlements.

My father came to this country about 1826 and settled on the lands of a wealthy Philadelphian, who hoped to form on his domain a colony of gentleman farmers; hence the homes bore romantic names,—Richmond Hill, Snowden, Silver Lake, Derwent Lake, Fairy Lawn, etc. The father and mother of Gerald Griffin had already settled in Susquehanna. Edward White was undoubtedly the pioneer of Catholicity in Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York. I am under the impression that I sent your Society, some years ago, by request, the account written by the Rev. Father Dubuisson, S. J., of his three months' mission in the Susquehanna wilds. The snow was so deep that a horse could not be allowed to break the way for the priest's sleigh, as there would be danger of the animal breaking its legs; so my father and brothers walked before the sleigh and broke the road for the horse and his precious burden. In those days how valued was the visit of the priest, and also how rare; and how well understood that he was the Lord's Annointed, not to be criticised by every idle tongue as is now,

* At the request of the Committee on Historical Research, Sister M. Teresa White, of the Visitation B. V. M., has kindly furnished the Records with these interesting Reminiscences.—H. T. H.

alas, the custom! On one occasion they found that a priest from Philadelphia would come for a brief visit if his expenses could be paid. Dr. Robert Rose, the proprietor of these immense lands, had offered a sum of money to any one who would clear a certain amount of forest. My oldest brother, afterwards Judge White of New York, started out, axe in hand, and worked day after day felling trees until he earned the priest's expenses. I see now the little wooden chapel embowered in forest trees, and recall how one time two little brothers and one little sister of mine were benighted four miles from home and hurried through the forest, scarcely daring to breathe, the brothers holding the little sister between them, and now and then the howl of a wolf in the distance. I was told this by one of those brothers, as I was not yet come into this world, I presume, as I am the youngest and only one left of a large family; and yet I am old.

Before we moved over the line into Broome County, New York, my brother, the one who cleared the land, studied law in Binghamton, where something remarkable occurred which bears a moral. On Sundays, as there was neither church, nor priest, nor congregation, he thought it no harm, after saying his Mass prayers, etc., to accompany the lady whom he afterwards married to the Episcopal Church as a mark of courtesy. He dreamed one night that he saw an Irishwoman, who lived in the village, come into the Protestant church and ask the minister to baptize her child. It was only a dream, but lo! on Sunday in walked an Irishwoman to have her child baptized! *It was enough.* Miss W. was never again attended by him to a Protestant church.

I have heard of the time when Binghamton had but *one* Catholic; and for years after we moved there, no priest, no church,—the nearest New York State priest being in Utica, ninety miles by *stage* from B. On one occasion the almost solitary Catholic was ill unto death. Great anxiety was felt, as for years she had not had the opportunity of the sacraments. Imagine the joy when Father Bacon (I think it was) appeared at our door, having been sent by a Sister of Charity in Utica, who told him my sister was ill, and asked him to go to her.

This sister, however, was well; and neither Father Bacon nor any one else could explain the mysterious mistake, by which a poor old woman received the sacraments.

At this time there were no Irish in Binghamton to speak of, but soon it was bruited about that Irish laborers were coming to construct a canal. It was quite laughable to hear announced with awe, "The Irish are coming." One day a young lady, breathless from fright, rushed into our house. "Why, Stella, what *is* the matter?" said my sister to her. "Oh, Miss Ann, I met an Irishman!" A kind Episcopalian lent us a vacant house for prayers on Sunday, when the few Catholics met. After many years we built, aided by Protestants, a small chapel, but we had no priest. My father used to read the prayers and say, as I presume, a number of Paters and Aves. One Sunday, he being absent, a good man took his place and prayed the Lord to send us a priest "as soon as it was possibly *convanient.*"

Of course, there was plenty of bigotry, or rather ignorance, without malice, for no kinder people could be found than the Binghamtonians of that day. An exception there was here and there,—for instance, one morning, to our indignation, was seen a large grocery sign nailed high on the church. On another occasion Dr. Wainwright was coming to B., and we tried to get the Court-House for him to preach, but an old law was hunted up to prevent it. We therefore used our orchard for a church, and our porch for a pulpit. Dr. Wainwright said, in allusion to this refusal, "A free stage and no favor" was all he wanted. Senator Dickinson, some days after, at a Fourth of July dinner, gave as a toast, "A free stage and no favor."

Archbishop Kenrick, of holy memory, took pity on the situation and allowed one of his priests to cross the line and give us Mass and the sacraments at long intervals. Oh, the faith of the people! Miles and miles were *walked* by women, fasting, to get to the Mass, and Mass was not said until nearly twelve o'clock, as time was brief, and so many had to go to confession. Their spirit would put some of the modern Catholics to shame. Before we had any church the baptisms, marriages, etc., took place at our house. I do not know whether it was

in Susquehanna or Broome, but I have always heard that Mr. and Mrs. Shanahan were married at our house, and as time went on my aunt, Mary Ann Griffin, the sister of Gerald, stood godmother for their son, little dreaming that the babe she held in her arms was to be the future Bishop of Harrisburg. The priests in that district of country were strong temperance men, and woe to the man who sold liquor without a license, *or with one,* for the matter of that! These good priests did not fear to come out at the altar and scold the delinquents well when any disorder had occurred. In these progressive times they would scarcely be able to do as they did then,—viz., walk into the shanty where this curse was sold, pull out the bung of the whiskey barrel, and let it meander where it would. One day Father Fitzsimmons, long since dead, entered the shanty of a woman who was a veritable virago. *He* seized the *bung, she* seized his *collar* and shook him vigorously while he, nothing daunted, pulled out the bung and let the poison run where it chose. After a time we grew so American that the priest ran the risk of being sued for defamation if he named people at the altar for misdemeanors. The saintly Father J. Vincent O'Reilly was master of the situation; he no longer admonished, but at the time of notifications he would call on the people to say one Pater and one Ave for Patrick Daley, who sold liquor at such a place. Oh, the dread they had of being *prayed for!* But they were helpless, and other priests took it up until they dreaded this being prayed for; but who could sue a priest for a charitable prayer? Before this artful dodge of Father O'Reilly's, I remember hearing of Father Fitzsimmons holding forth about some disorder, and his oration was interluded with "*and Tim the boy was there.*" Tim the boy was a noted drunkard. Father O'Reilly was a saint, and was called by Archbishop Kenrick his rough diamond. He did not pose as a polished priest, but his life was spent in hard labor travelling on horseback through the *seven* counties in his charge. His life was spent in the service of souls, and he died in an act of charity,—viz., when, in trying to rescue some one on the Erie railroad, he was himself crushed to death beneath the cars.

I have known a Presbyterian to tell with great approval of

Father O'Reilly, as he was driving one day, seeing a man beating his wife. The zealous priest jumped out of the buggy, pulled his discipline out of his pocket, and gave the man a taste of that which he was bestowing on his wife. This same father was on a sick-call one day by railroad, and told the conductor he wished to get off at a certain place. The conductor roughly refused, as it was not a stopping-place. Father O'Reilly calmly resumed his breviary and soon the cars slowed up. There was a commotion to know what was the matter, while Father O'Reilly quietly arose and stepped off at the right place, and the cars, obedient to the great Artificer of cars and all else, moved on their way, while Father O'Reilly went to the sick-call. The person who told me seemed to think he was so calm, because he *knew* God would see to it.

As time went on, Binghamton and the surrounding country had many Irish Catholics. One of the leading Presbyterian gentlemen used to tell us, as a good joke, how in the days of Repeal agitation an Irishman came to him to know if they would lend their church for an Irish Repeal meeting. Mr. Mather looked at him and said, "Why don't you use your own church?" "And is it to make a *barn* of *our* church you would have us?" replied the indignant Irishman.

Before closing, I will add an amusing and almost incredible incident. In those times of brief visits from a priest, a young couple were married at our house. The next day the young woman came to my mother and very timidly asked her the name of the man to whom she was married the day before! It seemed, I believe, the match was hastily made by the friends, as the priest was there, and she was too timid to fully understand his name. She would have done for an *ancient* Griselda, but assuredly not a modern one.

The good Father Hourigan, who was finally the resident pastor, ought to be mentioned for his faithful service and hard work. True, he had a church, a congregation, and a rectory; but all was poor at first. In those days we often had to hear of the scandalous quarrels, on the public works, of the "Far Ups" and the "Far Downs." Of course, the priest tried always to break up such a state of affairs. On one occasion

Father Hourigan heard that an encounter was expected on the public works. He hastened there, and afterwards was telling my father what the situation was when he arrived. A bridge separated the two parties who were advancing to the fight. "What did you do?" said my father. *"I took the bridge, sir,"* replied Father Hourigan, with the martial air of a Napoleon at the Bridge of Lodi.

My father was the greatest Bible-reader I ever saw in, or out of, the Catholic Church. No matter how cold the breakfast got, a chapter of the Bible was read aloud before we sat down to our breakfast. In the wild days of Susquehanna, on Sundays, as there was no priest, all the family were assembled, and each had to read aloud a chapter of the Bible. A Protestant gentleman, happening to be on a visit there, came in for the lengthy session, and was well tired out, declaring that he never would believe again that Catholics did not read the Bible.

A modern historian would have to tell of the schools and churches now flourishing where once the forest stood; and perhaps luxury reigns where once privation and suffering were endured for the love of Holy Church.

BY-PATHS OF HISTORY.

Old Times in the Colonies.

The title of this paper is the title of a volume composed by Charles Carleton Coffin, and published by Harper & Brothers, 1881. It seems a late day to notice a book that has nearly attained to voting age. Really, I do think it should have died of marasmus in its infancy. Probably its existence is due to very careful nursing on the part of its friends. One of these—perhaps not well acquainted with the book, however—is Dr. Edward Brooks, Superintendent of the Philadelphia Public Schools. In his brochure issued last year (1900) entitled *Suggestions for Instruction in Language in the Elementary Schools,* he includes *Old Times in the Colonies* amongst other books recommended for Lessons in Language and General Reading. Mr. Coffin's volume is thus made to assume a contemporaneous importance very much out of proportion to its intrinsic merits or defects. I say "merits or defects;" for it abounds in features which, in the eyes of some of our separated brethren, might be considered as merits, but which to Catholics must appear as grave defects. These grave defects become of importance to Catholics only in so far as they are found in a book recommended for use in those Public Schools whose financial support is largely due to the taxes imposed on Catholic parents. I feel convinced that if Dr. Brooks had been aware of these grave defects, he would not have commended a book whose publication was, indeed, a wound to charity, but whose use in the Public Schools becomes a further offence against justice. I am not concerned with the literary side of the volume in question; although it would be the simplest truth to affirm that it utterly lacks literary style, and that it is a hodge-podge of facts, fancies, sermonizing declamation and well-nigh intolerable boredom. Its four hundred and fifty pages are, nevertheless, enlivened by a profusion of good

pictorial illustrations. It is the purpose of the present paper to call attention to some of the features offensive to Catholics.

I. St. Francis and Mr. Coffin.

My readers may ask, "*Which St. Francis?*" Three men, bearing that name, are well known not alone to Catholics, but as well to our separated brethren. Who, indeed, can be ignorant of Xavier, the glowing *Apostle of the Indies,* whose "love-sigh" (as Schlosser, the hymnologist, styles his *O Deus ego amo te*) has melted all hearts? And who can be ignorant of that other "of Sales," whose gentle asceticism has made his writings so grateful to Protestants that they issue them in even finer style than do our Catholic publishers? But there is *one* St. Francis whom all the world knows so well in Letters and in Art, who entered so powerfully into the formative influences shaping mediæval history, whose sweetness and loveliness have so entranced men of all shades of religious belief and unbelief, that merely to say "St. Francis," without other qualification, is to name the *Seraph of Assisi.* And thus it is that Augustine Birrell, in his *Obiter Dicta,* refers to him without other qualification: "We must all know many a sorry scrub," he says, "who has fairly talked himself into the belief that nothing but his intellectual difficulties prevents him from being another St. Francis. We think we could suggest a few score of other obstacles" (*First Series*, p. 111 of Scribner's Ed., 1897).

Dante devotes the eleventh canto of *Il Paradiso* to the glory of St. Francis, whom he styles "seraphic all in fervency." He is indeed "the seraphic saint." All men who know how to love have loved the utterly unselfish, childlike simplicity and amiability of the saint. "Of all the saints," says Dean Milman, "St. Francis was the most blameless and gentle." Dean Trench declares that in him "the might of self-denying and self-offering love put all mockers and gainsayers to silence" (*Mediæval Church History,* Lect. xvi). To Mrs. Oliphant, his was "a life filled with one great master-thought which dominated all other motives of humanity and impulses of nature—the desire to be like Christ" (*Francis of Assisi,* p. 294).

Sabatier, the great French Protestant, spends himself in the production of a classical masterpiece of biography in his honor (*Vie de S. François d'Assise*) which in 1894 had attained its fourth edition. A critical historian, his work evidences great research in the matter of documentary illustration and confirmation, while to the discussion of his sources he devotes a sufficiently large part of a large volume. His studies have made him, although a Protestant, a most ardent lover of the Saint. In the infidel Renan the thought of St. Francis "excites a touching tenderness," as M. Sabatier remarks (p. xxxiv of the 4th French edition). But why do I quote all these appreciations—appreciations made, not by Catholics, but by our separated brethren? Who is ignorant of the wide and splendid testimony to his admirable sanctity, or of the profound emotions of veneration and love which that pre-eminent sanctity has excited even in the hearts of non-Catholics?

Knowing all this, we do not wonder that Mr. Coffin should have wandered far away from his theme in order to pay a tribute to the Saint. *Old Times in the Colonies* has, indeed, nothing to do with St. Francis. But the labors of the Franciscan fathers in the New World might easily suggest a pardonable irrelevancy—an amiable excursion from his theme—in order to pay a tribute to the memory of the man whom all the world has agreed to honor. Here is Mr. Coffin's tribute:

> About two hundred years before John and Sebastian Cabot discovered America, a young man in the town of Assisi, in France, became wild on the subject of religion. He had strange dreams, and heard supernatural voices. He took a vow to be a beggar all his life, thinking, with all other monks and friars, that to be dirty, wear rags, and go barefoot, was a sign of humility. To show that he renounced the world, he stripped off all his clothes, wearing only a mantle around his loins. The people flocked in crowds to his teaching. He was so much of a fanatic that he went out into the fields and preached to the ducks and geese, doves and sparrows. He took the name of St. Francis; and though he called himself a saint, he robbed his father to obtain money to build a church, declaring that, as the object was good, the action was right. Other men went wild with religion, and to show their humility became dirty and wore rags, and, instead of working, begged their living. They went on missions, and spread themselves over all the world (p. 102).

This tribute is so graceful that we easily pardon its irrelevancy. But as the book is recommended for reading in the Public Schools, we venture to call the attention of the teachers to some slight errors. For instance, there is an error in geography. Mr. Coffin declares that Assisi is a town "in France." The really great importance of Assisi to the student does not, indeed, arise from any commercial pre-eminence it has now or ever had. But neither is Athens or Sparta of any present importance commercially; while Carthage, at last succumbing to the repeated rhetorical appeal, *Delenda est Carthago,* was so thoroughly "deleted" that its very site is become a matter of dispute. Nevertheless, it would scarcely do to say that Athens was in Thrace, Sparta in Crete, or Carthage in Italy. If in some book I should compile, I should go out of my way to speak of Luther, and should assert that his famous University town of Wittenberg was in Holland, I could scarce resent an impugning of my ability to write any kind of a book—even one for American readers. I venture, therefore, to remind those teachers who shall take up *Old Times in the Colonies* for reading to their charges, that—Mr. Coffin to the contrary notwithstanding—Assisi is *not* in France. Geography is esteemed so highly in the schools, that it really will not *do* to let Mr. Coffin mislead the pupils.

St. Francis "became wild on the subject of religion" in 1208. The Cabots "discovered America" (in the peculiar phrase of Mr. Coffin) in the years 1497-98. It was hardly felicitous for Mr. Coffin to describe the difference of time as "about two hundred years." It is, however, a small point to call attention to; for it concerns only a man who was "dirty" and who loved to "wear rags." There are in Mr. Coffin's narrative some points of fact that are more important. He tells us that the saint "took the name of St. Francis." One of the points of fact to which I allude is that he did *not* take the name of St. Francis. His baptismal name was John. My readers will pardon me if I remit Mr. Coffin to a further study of his subject, to discover how the saint became known to the world as "Francesco." Much less did he "take the name of 'St.' Francis." The Catholic Church is responsible for that naming,

and should be charged by Mr. Coffin with all the direful consequences of its act. But however mistaken the Church was in this matter, there is something commendable in the fact that the "sainting" process did not take place during the life, but after the death, of the fanatical preacher to "ducks and geese."

Again, it is not quite correct to say, as Mr. Coffin does, that "though he called himself a saint, he robbed his father." It is a wicked thing to rob one's father; but it would be a mean thing to do so while styling one's self a "saint." Moreover, it would be a blunder (easily appealing as such to every sane man), and that is sometimes worse than a crime, I have heard. But I am surprised at the defence which Mr. Coffin puts on the lips of St. Francis, to the effect that "as the object was good, the action was right." I have always read in books like Mr. Coffin's, that it was the Jesuits who invented that view of morality!

Mr. Coffin has not thus far displayed an alarming familiarity with the history of St. Francis of Assisi. He does not know that Assisi is in Italy; he does not know that John was the real name of the saint; he does not know that he was styled "il Francesco" by his father, on that parent's return from a successful commercial expedition into France; he does not know how the term "saint" was applied to a man who esteemed himself the very least of God's creatures; he is, in short, an egregious ignoramus in a matter which he undertakes, without any attempt at a show of relevancy, to impart to his readers. These must be reckoned, indeed, as sitting in an unheard of Egyptian darkness of Letters and Art, if they do not know vastly more about St. Francis than does Mr. Coffin. When, therefore, he says that the saint defended his "robbery" by "declaring that, as the object was good, the action was right," I must be pardoned if I declare my conviction that Mr. Coffin is wickedly mendacious; that he puts on the lips of the saint what is in simplest truth a figment of Mr. Coffin's imagination.

In respect of the "robbery" question, I shall merely translate the words of the Protestant Sabatier, who knows all the "sources" thoroughly, and has the facts of St. Francis' life at his finger-ends:

A horse and some pieces of brilliant cloth were all that he owned; arrived at home, he made a bale of the stuffs, and jumping on horseback, set out for Foligno.*

To this I will merely add that at that time the saint was twenty-five years old, and may properly be considered as having possessed something in his own right. Of course, to suppose that Mr. Coffin, ignorant of the very first facts of the saint's history, could possibly know anything whatever about "sources," is too ludicrous. In this instance, he simply seizes with avidity upon the wrong interpretation of an incident which books like the *Encyclopædia Brittanica* love to distort into an attack. When, however, he further says that the saint justified his "robbery" by the declaration that a good end justifies a bad means, Mr. Coffin becomes original—and mendacious.

In concluding my review of this subject, with quotations from Mrs. Oliphant's *Francis of Assisi* and Trench's *Mediæval Church History,* I fear that I may not take it for granted that Mr. Coffin has ever heard of either. I am therefore compelled, in a formal fashion, to assure Mr. Coffin and his readers that both Mrs. Oliphant and Dean Trench were thorough Protestants. The former's volume of three hundred pages was published by Macmillan in *The Sunday Library for Household Reading.* (I perhaps ought to add, for Mr. C.'s information, that Macmillan is not generally considered a Jesuit in disguise.) And Dean Trench is the author whose exclusion of certain hymns from his volume of *Sacred Latin Poetry* (because of a suspected "Romish" superstition) subsequently led the Rev. Dr. Schaff, the Protestant historian and hymnologist, to wonder (in his *Christ in Song*) why one of those hymns was not included by Trench. Both of these authors, therefore, must be accepted as authorities on the score of learning; for both were students of the life of St. Francis. Both, too, must be accepted for their impartiality; for both were good Protestants. I quote first from Trench (*Med. Ch. Hist.,* p. 232):

* Un cheval et quelques pièces d'étoffe de couleurs voyantes étaient tout ce qui lui appartenait; arrivé chez ses parents, il fit un paquet des étoffes et se jetant à cheval partit pour Foligno. (*Vie de S. François d'Assise*, p. 64).

He had already broken with the world, though he had not yet discovered what his wider mission should be; when one day hearing the Gospel read which told of the sending forth of the Twelve Apostles without scrip or staff or shoes or purse [Mr. Coffin picturesquely describes the acquiescence of Francis in the Divine mandate in a different fashion: "He took a vow to be a beggar all his life; thinking, with all other monks and friars, that to be dirty, wear rags, and go barefoot, was a sign of humility"], he exclaimed, "Here is what I wanted;" and, without prolonging the time, he at once proceeded to fashion his life after this Apostolic pattern. Poverty, as Dante tells us, which had now been a widow for eleven hundred years, was the bride to whom he was espoused, and from whom he was resolved that nothing should divorce him. . . . But it was not long before the might of self-denying and self-offering love put all mockers and gainsayers to silence [excepting always, of course, Mr. Coffin and the like]. And then there gathered to him one and another, and so a little company, whom he bade go forth, east, and west, and north, and south, to preach the Gospel to the poor. For, indeed, intense sympathy with the poor, a seeing and a serving of Christ in his suffering members, a craving to be himself the poorest of the poor, not stooping to their aid as from a superior height, but himself tasting the very worst of their lot,—this was the master-passion of his soul. Had not his Lord said, "I am come to send fire on the earth?" even the fire, as he rightly understood it, of divine love; and this love, judge what we may of the idea on which his Order rested, has perhaps never burned brighter in human heart than in his. In the circle of that love the whole creation, animate and inanimate, was included. The sun was his brother, the moon his sister; doves ate out of his hand; lay in his bosom ["the ducks and geese, doves and sparrows" of Mr. Coffin]. A poet, "a Minnesinger of the divine love," he has bequeathed to us a hymn in the vulgar tongue, which, with all its imperfection of form (for indeed Italian poetry and, we may add, Italian language were hardly yet born), is worthy of all admiration. Nor is it without its significance that to two of his early scholars we are probably indebted for two world-famous hymns,—one the most solemn, the other the most pathetic, in the whole of Latin hymnology—the *Dies Iræ* and the *Stabat Mater*.

The heart of Trench, by profession an antagonist of Catholicity, is melted wholly by the contemplation of the saint. But Mr. Coffin has thoroughly cased his own heart in the Horatian *æs triplex*—the "brass," namely, of amazing ignorance, profound bigotry, and shameless vulgarity. "Rags," "ducks and geese,"—that is all he can figure in the glowing canvas.

And now for Mrs. Oliphant, another Protestant. (*Francis of Assisi*, p. 294.)

Such was the end of the life of Francis of Assisi—a life filled with one great master-thought which dominated all other motives of humanity and impulses of nature—the desire to be like Christ. For this he gave up everything that makes existence sweet, choosing the worst, and hardest, and bitterest of all lots. . . . He made visible to a literal, practical, unquestioning age the undeniable and astounding fact that the highest of all beings chose a life of poverty, hardship, and humbleness. . . . The Son of Man was lifted up, as on another cross. . . . In this world Francis knew nothing, acknowledged nothing, cared for nothing save Christ and Him crucified—except indeed Christ's world, the universe redeemed, the souls to be saved, the poor to be comforted, the friends to be cherished, the singing birds and bubbling fountains, the fair earth and the sweet sky. Courteous, tender, and gentle as any paladin, sweet-tongued and harmonious as any poet, liberal as any prince, was the barefooted beggar and herald of God. We ask no visionary reverence for the Stigmata, no wondering belief in any miracle. As he stood, he was as great a miracle as any then existing under God's abundant, miraculous heavens; more wonderful than are the day and night, the sun and the dew; only less wonderful than that great Love which saves the world, and which it was his aim and destiny to reflect and show forth.

This may seem horribly enthusiastic to Mr. Coffin. I have only to say in answer that Mrs. Oliphant, unlike Mr. Coffin, knows something about her theme. She studied it sufficiently to write a rather extended Life of the saint. Again, the volume is published by a prominent Protestant house, and in all its three hundred pages he is called simply "Francis"—not "St." Francis. Surely this ear-mark should suffice to guarantee the Protestant orthodoxy of the book! Her concluding words I may not fairly omit. To Francis, she says, "Many a devout heart has turned, as to a living epistle such as may be read of all men, a true and touching Imitation of Christ."

Now I am sincerely of the opinion that Superintendent Brooks knew not the character of *Old Times in the Colonies*. Its title readily suggests itself as appropriate for reading in the Public Schools. No one could surmise beforehand that such treatments as that accorded by Mr. Coffin to St. Francis of Assisi, or such as it is my purpose to present in the succeeding part of the present paper, could possibly find place in a volume with so innocent and attractive a title. I do not, therefore, wish to be understood as criticising Mr. Brooks.

But it may be fairly contended, nevertheless, that we are confronted with another out of the countless instances furnished by our literature, of the very great care that should be exercised in the selection of books for children—especially for children in our Public Schools. For these schools are supported largely by the money of Catholics.

To the mind that considers, even superficially, the character of the book and of Mr. Coffin, its author, how many saddening questions and reflections must of necessity arise! They are reflections to be aware of rather than to be analyzed. The heart has its language as well as the head; and in this case it speaks louder than many words. What shall we say, then, of a book which teaches the tender minds of children to ridicule that which all the world, Protestant and Catholic alike, has esteemed as most lovely and pathetic? a book which holds up to scorn that which should be an object alone of veneration? which guffaws rudely where it should weep silently? which scoffs where it should pray? In heaping rude abuse on the ideal poverty of St. Francis, do we exalt, in the minds of our children, the ideal of Him Who had not where to lay His head? Or is the present generation so rich in altruistic models that it can afford to gibe at a saint who was one of the noblest of all?

Leaving questions of the heart, and listening to those of the head—Will it *do* to train up our children to such a point of view as will make the poetry of Dante, and the innumerable masterpieces of Art dealing with St. Francis, something to be laughed at rather than to be studied? Is the inconceivable ignorance of Mr. Coffin in the very matters he has elected to write about, to be a proper object-lesson of the financial success attending ignorance in America, provided that ignorance display itself with sufficient brutality and candor? Is the spirit of tenderness to all of God's creatures, which has formed some of our children into "Bands of Mercy," to become the subject of ridicule in the person of St. Francis? Are the "ducks and geese" of Mr. Coffin's jocoseness funnier than the dogs and cats of the Bands of Mercy?

Apropos, I am led here to quote from Mrs. Jameson (also a Protestant, Mr. C.). In her *Legends of the Monastic Or-*

ders, she finds it necessary to preface a discussion of the artistic purpose dominating the work, with brief biographies of the saints treated in Art. Speaking of the inspiration which the life of St. Francis gave to Art, she writes:

> Were all other evidence wanting, we might form some idea of the passionate enthusiasm inspired by the character of St. Francis, and the popularity and influence of his Order, from the incalculable number of the effigies which exist of him.

Mrs. Jameson partly classifies the paintings. And what kingly artists have essayed the saintly theme! A history of modern painting could almost be constructed out of it! I am not concerned with this just now, however; and I pass on to her view of the "ducks and geese" to which, as Mr. Coffin reminds us, St. Francis was so fanatical as to sermonize:

> And here we must pause for a moment. The last subject will probably excite a smile, but that smile ought to be a serious smile,—not a sneer; and I cannot pass it over without remark.
>
> Among the legends of St. Francis, some of the most interesting are those which place him in relation with the lower animals. He looked upon all beings as existing by and through God, and as having a portion of that divine principle by which he himself existed. He was accustomed to call all living things his brothers and sisters. . . . He appears to have thought that all sentient beings had a share in the divine mission of Christ; and since a part of that divine mission was to enlarge the sphere of our human sympathies, till they embrace *all* our fellow-creatures, it should seem that the more the tender spirit of Christianity is understood and diffused, the more will the lower creation be elevated through our own more elevated intelligence and refined sympathies. Dr. Arnold says, in a striking passage of one of his letters, that "the destinies of the brute creation appeared to him a mystery which he could not approach without awe." St. Francis, in his gentle and tender enthusiasm, solved that mystery—at least to himself—by admitting animals within the pale of Christian sympathy.

And now, in conclusion, let me say that I have not brought together these glowing testimonies of Protestants to the venerable character and lovable sweetness of the "seraph of Assisi," for the purpose of refuting Mr. Coffin. As far as he is concerned he is obviously too much beneath notice as an author to waste a word upon. But it is not useless, perhaps, to have

illustrated the vastly different complexions of men like Coffin, Mosheim, *et al.*, when compared with writers like Trench, Milman, Oliphant, Jameson, Sabatier, who have really studied their subject, and whose study has led them all in the one direction of a most enthusiastic love and veneration—Protestant though they be—for a Catholic saint. Another purpose I have had in view, is to illustrate the danger which books like Coffin's must possess for tender minds not as yet—it would appear—expanded sufficiently to appreciate decent literature. All the apparatus of the succeeding parts of this paper will have a similar purpose.

II. From China to Peru.

In his Preface, Mr. Coffin tells us how comprehensive was his view of the task he assigned himself in a previous volume, *The Story of Liberty* (also recommended by Mr. Brooks):

> While preparing that work, I discovered that there was no volume in existence that would give the young people of our country an idea of the struggles of men in England and Europe against the tyranny of emperors, kings, popes, archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors; to supply that want, I wrote a second volume, entitled "The Story of Liberty," which traced a chain of events through a period of five hundred years, from the signing of Magna Charta to the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth. This volume [*Old Times in the Colonies*], therefore, fills the gap between the others in time, and together they make a series, not of general history, but an outline history of the progress of ideas.

Of the present volume he says,—

> It will show how the Old World laws, habits, and customs were gradually changed; how the grand ideas of Freedom and the Rights of Man took root and flourished.

All this will display the temper of mind of Mr. Coffin. He candidly declares both his brief and his animus. "The grand ideas of Freedom and the Rights of Man" are terms to conjure with; but a simple narrative of what took place in the Old Times in the Colonies will not display those ideas in very charming lights. As if fearful of this truth, Mr. Coffin spat-

ters his pages with irrelevant declamation against Europe, its laws, customs, etc. He writes as though the Colonies had achieved the realization of those grand ideas while the rest of the world remained stationary. The simple fact seems to be that England, whose despotism achieved our liberties, has progressed in liberty beyond ourselves. Religious Toleration, for instance, is to-day a fact in England, while it remains here still very much of a theory where Catholics are concerned. It would require a very large volume to detail the persistent attempts of Know-Nothings and A. P. A.-ists to wrest from Catholics whatever shreds of political prerogative they now enjoy; while the campaigns of riot and bloodshed and church-burning have but given place to the conspiracy of histories like Mr. Coffin's, of sermons like Madison Peters', of literature like Edith O'Gorman's, of lectures like Margaret Sheppard's, and of political appeals like the Rev. Mr. King's. Meanwhile, it is notorious that the Burchardian spectre of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" succeeds admirably in a practical barring of Catholics from those "highest offices in the State" which are theoretically open to the aspirations of the humblest child. These are not, indeed, picturesque phrases like those of Mr. Coffin; they are naked and bald facts.

In England, to-day, the real liberties of the citizen are better protected than in America. This is the constant taunt levelled at the American traveller by the cultivated and free Britisher; and I could swell out this brief paper into a small library by giving extracts from our daily press to illustrate the practical disfranchisement of our fellow-citizens by Bossism and machine-politics. "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us to see ourse's as others see us!"

"The Rights of Man"—it is a glorious phrase. It is needless to point out that in the French Revolution it meant intolerance, proscription, and the guillotine. With us of the present day, it means that the Constitution, the Magna Charta of our Freedom, does not follow the flag into Porto Rico and the Philippines. For nearly a century after the Colonies had become the Republic, it meant Negro Slavery.

What are we reading in Mr. Coffin's book? What else, in-

deed, but "words, words, words," like Hamlet? Let me extract some of these words (p. 66):

> The English are in Virginia, the French in Canada. Feeble both the plantings. Which will have the most vigorous growth? What are the forces lying behind them to give them strength? One is Magna Charta —the *right* of the many; the other of the Feudal ages—the *privilege* of the few, and the *right* of none. In England the people are questioning the privileges of the king; in France the king is absolute, and no one asks any questions. England rejects the supreme authority of the Pope; France accepts it. In the great struggle between these two diverse civilizations, which will most likely go down? which, for the well-being, happiness and advancement of the human race, ought to go down?

The religious issue is raised by Mr. Coffin. But was Magna Charta a Protestant or a Catholic achievement? And the Tudor dynasty, which defied the Pope and levelled Catholicity in the dust—was it famous for the concession of the rights of the many? was it not notorious for its vindication of the privilege of the few? Mr. Coffin is surely maundering. All English history fails to afford a parallel to the absolutism and tyranny of the Protestantizing *régimes* of the Tudors and Stuarts. Neither will all the history of Christianity afford a parallel to the absolutism and tyranny of the Colonial laws of Massachusetts and the Blue Laws of Connecticut. Nor is the religious freedom guaranteed by our Constitution the result of liberal ideas, but of the sheer necessities surrounding and dictating the project of colonial federation in America.

So diverse were the religious conditions in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, for instance, that the only avenue left open to a real union was the agreement to disagree. No Republic could cohere with disbarments in one state and toleration in another. Little thanks to "the grand ideas of Freedom and the Rights of Man." Maryland is a classical illustration. Boiled down, its history is as follows:

I.—The Catholic settlement of Maryland gives Protestants equal religious and civil rights with Catholics.

II.—"Many Puritans, drawn by the toleration of the Baltimores, had now settled in Maryland, and manifested there a spirit very different to that shown towards them by the pro-

prietors. Civil war had begun in England between the Puritans and the king, and, taking advantage of this, Clayborne stirred up the Maryland Puritans to an attack on the Catholics" (Charles Morris' *History of the United States,* for schools. Lippincott, 1898).

III.—The Puritans signalize their ascendancy gained by havoc. They persecute Catholics (1645).

IV.—They are repulsed, and the Catholics signalize the return to the *status quo ante* by an Act of Toleration (1649) by which the original toleration granted by them to all Christians is formally sanctioned by a law.

V.—"In 1652, Clayborne and Bennett, as Commissioners of the Commonwealth of England, overthrew the proprietary government, and when Lord Baltimore prepared to restore it, they convened an assembly, first prohibiting any Catholic to vote for or to sit as a delegate. The body called, after thus excluding the Catholic majority, passed an act concerning religion, which began, 'It is hereby enacted and declared that none who profess and exercise the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion, can be protected in this province by the laws of England, formerly established and yet unrepealed; nor by the government of the Commonwealth of England, etc., but to be restrained from the exercise thereof.'" (Shea: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days,* p. 74).

VI.—"Lord Baltimore, however, at last recovered his authority, liberty of conscience was restored. . . . The influx of Protestants after this increased. . . ." (Shea, p. 76); "and during the next thirty years the colony grew in wealth and population" (Morris, p. 120).

VII.—"Yet the old religious difficulty in time reappeared, the adherents of the Church of England seeking, after 1676, to oppress all who differed from them in religious faith. In 1689, William and Mary, the new monarchs of England, came to the throne. They were pledged to support the Protestant cause, and severe laws were passed against Catholics. The government of Maryland was usurped by a Protestant association, and the Calverts were robbed of their province.

"In 1691 Maryland was declared a royal province . . . and

the Church of England was declared the established church, taxes being laid for its support, though it had few members among the population. The Catholic worship was forbidden, and was not permitted again in Maryland while it remained under English rule" (Morris, p. 120).

Very pretty reading, this. Nearly as pretty reading, in its way, is the history of the penal laws in the Colonies issued against those who did not conform to the religious status introduced variously, in varying forms, in the various settlements. A book which should give us a complete history of all this and of some other interesting things such as Slavery, the Indian imbroglios, the Drink question, etc., ought to prove highly instructive. I suggest a title for it: *High Old Times in the Colonies.*

After this slight glance at the history of Maryland, the rhetoric with which Mr. Coffin begins to close his Preface will be appreciated (p. 8):

> Through all the narratives of wars, massacres, and bloodshed you will see Right, Justice, and Liberty ever advancing.

I defer to the section on Comparative History in a subsequent paper, Mr. Coffin's views on Maryland. Of the tolerance of Catholic Maryland, of the intolerance of the Puritans and Anglicans there, he says NOTHING!

III. Purer Worship.

> Some of the ministers of the Church of England did not like to make the sign of the cross when they baptized a child, and there were other things distasteful to them in the ritual which the bishop had established. They desired a *purer* form of worship, and so were called Puritans by those who ridiculed them (p. 51).

They are phrases often encountered in history and literature —"*purer* Gospel," "*purer* worship." It is curious that they have no reference whatever to purity of morals. Indeed, the places and sometimes the persons to which they are applied have been notorious for a rapid decadence of morality. The "pure Gospel" preached by Luther was followed in his own University town by a very flood of immorality. Twenty-eight

years after his famous ninety-five Theses, he writes to Prince George of Anhalt, concerning Wittenberg: "I am living, or rather being killed (mortificamur) in this Sodom and Babylon." The Scriptures have furnished Luther with the most terrible names for this Wittenberg, the darling city of the Reformation. Genesis furnishes the first, Apocalypse the second; and both are horrible in the extreme. Taine gloried in the introduction of the Reformation into England; although, as he quaintly admits, it entered "by the back door." Gifford, the biographer of Ben Jonson, speaks of that poet (who had, in prison, become a Catholic) as embracing again the "*purer* Gospel" when he subsequently left the Catholic Church. But what a stench of immorality rises from the pages of the purified Ben! This never seems to offend Gifford. I possess a little volume of Ballads of the Cavaliers. The Puritans are described in verses I dare not quote. I do not mean to imply that I believe all the horrid accusations. But I am led, in this connection, to notice the peculiar fact that our antagonists not merely pretend to believe, but go to the indecent length of quoting, the vilest stuff manufactured by the enemies of the monks, the popes, the nuns, the hierarchy, the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. This Professor Robinson did in his brochure on the Original Sources of *The Pre-Reformation Period.* This did his Lordship, Bishop Creighton, of London, in his *History of the Papacy,* vol. vi., *Letters of Obscure Men;* and in the volume treating of the Council of Florence. Taine revels in the impure details he quotes from Luther's description of Rome. These are a few illustrations of a kind of argumentation in which Catholics, deprived of the Purer Worship, dare not engage—not for lack of material, but for very decency's sake. The material at our very hand is extremely abundant and extremely loathesome; and we dare not soil our pages with it. But it is a truth amply witnessed to by history, that wherever the "purer" Gospel was introduced, purity visibly declined.

Now, in view of this short history of such phrases, Catholics are not unreasonably dissatisfied that in books such as Mr. Coffin's the phrase "purer worship" should appear italicized

and with no qualifying words. The Puritans "desired a *purer* form of worship," says Mr. Coffin. He italicizes *purer*. Why did he not say, instead, "The Puritans desired a form of worship which would be, *in their opinion,* a purer form"? Instead of saying further on that "Convictions of what was right and true led the Puritans," why could he not, with more justice to all parties concerned, make it read: "Convictions of what *they considered* right and true," etc.? Is he a Puritan writing for Puritans? Perhaps he is. In such an attitude I do not quarrel with him. But is it just or fair that such language be given to our children in the Public Schools?

IV. Fisheries and Fast Days.

Mr. Coffin devotes Chapter II. to what he styles "Forces of Civilization." Speaking of the importance of Fisheries, he treats the reader to a condensed but erudite dissertation on the economics of days of fast and days of abstinence. He does not use these terms, indeed; the distinction would be beyond him—"all is fish that comes to his net." But I have used them for the sake of clearness. His pleasant humor relieves the dulness so often found in such discussions. He does not weary his readers with too great particularity of statement, or lay too severe a tax on the gray matter of the brain by a rigid adherence to logic. Writing for Americans, he seems to feel conscious of the necessity of taking nothing for granted in the line of general knowledge or general information. He says,—

> No one knows exactly how it came about, but many years before the discovery of the New World, the Pope decreed that it was wicked to eat meat on Fridays, saints' days, or during Lent, but that it was not wrong to eat fish.

Mr. Coffin is *naïf*. He tells us that "no one knows exactly how it came about," and in the same breath informs us that it was brought about because "the Pope decreed" it. It was not *a* Pope; it was "*the* Pope." If, misled by the definite article, we should ask, "*Which* Pope?" we should be doing violence to that freemasonry of ignorance which protects men

like Mr. Coffin from the censure of their fellow-historians and fellow-educators in America. The fundamental doctrine of our pedagogical Republic of Letters is "Live and let live!"

"Many years," says Mr. Coffin. This sounds like the beginning of a fairy-tale—and that is what it is, sure enough! If he had said "Many centuries," he would have come nearer the mark; but then the romantic atmosphere that hangs about "Many years" would have been lost to his fairy-tale.

Catholics were not allowed to eat meat "on saints' days," he tells us. Artemus Ward, quite as great an authority on humor as Mr. Coffin, warns writers against distributing "hunks of information that isn't so." We have been accustomed to regard "saints' days" as "feast days" rather than as "fast days." But we must now revise our opinion. Or it may be that he was thinking of vigils! Of course, I do not credit him with a knowledge of the etymology of the word, or of its devotional meaning; but it may be that he confused some such phrase as "the vigil of St. Matthew" with the Feast of St. Matthew. After this brief but comprehensive introduction, Mr. Coffin gets down to the heart of his thesis on fasts and fisheries:

> There were so many saints to be honored that on more than one hundred days during the year no meat could be eaten and in consequence there was a great demand for fish.

This is certainly an amazing piece of information. It is the only particularized statement in the whole dissertation. And I suppose that Mr. Coffin arrived at its particularity by some such process of reasoning as the following: "Vigils of saints" is a phrase equivalent to "saints' days." But saints' holidays were nearly as frequent as working-days. Therefore, on more than one hundred days Catholics were not allowed the use of meat.

Of course, this syllogism is faulty in many respects. First, vigils are not saints' days. Again, on but very few vigils—at most a dozen in number—was fasting obligatory. Again, "saints' days" are *feasts,* not *fasts.*

While it may be freely admitted that Mr. Coffin's treatment of fasts and fisheries adorns the tale he tells, it may also be

fairly considered as pointing a moral. For what class of rudimentary intelligences he writes his book, I really do not know. But one could not err in assigning that class to pupils of the tenderest age. For it is only little children who could rest content with such information. A certain little boy was worrying his father, during an exciting game of baseball, by a stream of questions that interrupted the close parental concentration on the details of the game. Finally the boy demanded, "Pop, who shuts that gate when all the people are gone?" With a sublime readiness, the indulgent parent replied, "Some MAN." The boy's thirst for information was satisfied completely by the answer.

It is just in such a fashion that Mr. Coffin writes. His account of fasting is precisely what one might look for from the first man encountered on the street. "I say, Jones, can you tell me why Catholics fast?" Jones replies: "Oh, 'some Pope' ordered them to do so 'many years' ago." It is the illustration of the boy and the gate over again. "Some man"—that is the gist of Mr. Coffin's treatment of fasts.

Even if his treatment were exact instead of being exquisitely vague and inexact and false, he should have reflected that it was inappropriate. For *Old Times in the Colonies* is a small book on a large subject. A sense of proportion should have safeguarded him from indulging in even a brief treatment of the relation between fasts and fisheries. Bancroft allows himself many stately volumes, but does not feel it necessary to dilate on the commercial importance of fisheries. He would not insult the intelligence of his readers, all of whom are glad to have fish to eat, fasts or no fasts. But Mr. Coffin's sense of proportion leads him to estimate an irrelevant, and a vulgar, and an ignorant guffaw on fasting as of paramount importance for the sale of his book. I have too much respect for Mr. Brooks, for his general information, his culture, his politeness, to believe that he has really read the volume which he recommends for the perusal of the cultivated body of teachers in the public schools of Philadelphia.

H. T. Henry.

Overbrook, Pa.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

In presenting the annual report to the members of the American Catholic Historical Society your Executive Board takes pleasure in stating that notwithstanding the limitation of its efforts caused by inadequacy of resources, it may still claim a substantial advance for the Society.

The financial statement which is appended shows that the Society is in good condition, the liabilities being reduced to nine thousand dollars, and to offset this we are in possession of this fine building and a growing collection of valuable books and historical relics. The income from dues of members has somewhat increased, but not sufficiently to allow the Board to accomplish as much as might be desired. However, it shows a gratifying proof that the Society is still growing. Four hundred dollars have been paid on account of mortgage, and a balance remains of one hundred and fifty eight dollars and eighteen cents.

The members should not relax their efforts to procure accessions to their number, as the Society depends entirely on the contribution of its members, and without growth little progress can be made.

The Records of the Society continue to be issued regularly, and the thanks of the Society are due to the untiring efforts of the Chairman of the Committee on Publication, Dr. L. F. Flick, to which may be attributed the success which has been attained. Thirty five hundred copies of each number have been printed and distributed, principally to members and exchanges.

The same may be said also for the Committee on Historical Research, which through its Chairman, Rev. H. T. Henry, has supplied the material for publication, the following papers having been recommended for publication:

"Memoir of the Rt. Rev. James Zilliox, O.S.B., D.D.," by Francis X. Reuss.

"Properties of the Jesuits in Pennsylvania, 1730–1830," by Rev. Thos. Hughes, S. J.

"History of St. Anne's Church in Philadelphia, Pa." (Prize Essay), by Miss Stella A Segrest.

Original Documents relating to the Civil War (1863–1867), furnished by F. X. Reuss, Esq.

Letters bearing upon the Foundation of Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, in America, urnished by Sisters of Notre Dame.

"Peter Gill, a Benefactor of Church, School, and Poor."

"Diary of Archbishop Maréchal, 1818–1825."

"Sketch of the Life of Philip Francis Scanlan," by Mary Angela Spellissy.

"Short History of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, sent (in 1874) to Gen. C. Ewing," by the Rt. Rev. J. B. Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé.

"Catholic Wills of Maryland, 1634–1777."

A paper on the Catholic Governor of North Carolina, by Martin I. J. Griffin.

"Reminiscences of Early Days in Northern Pennsylvania and New York," by Sister M. Teresa White, Visitation Convent, Georgetown.

Also, much unedited correspondence. The Committee has instituted and carried on a department entitled "By-Paths of History," containing essays on various topics of interest to general Catholic history, and essays under this general heading have appeared in each of the four numbers of Volume XI.

The interest that the members and the friends of the SOCIETY have in the growth and efficiency of the Library and Cabinet is evidenced this year, as in the past, by the generous donations we have received of books and letters, medals and historical curios.

A full and detailed list of donors and of their donations accompanies this report.

The seventy-odd thousand cards that represent the Catholic population of Philadelphia in the late religious census, and which were given to the SOCIETY by His Grace, Most Rev'd Archbishop Ryan, and the library bequeathed to us by Mr. John P. Murta, are notable items in the list of donations.

A number of volumes of historical import were procured for the SOCIETY, by exchange; but the small fund at the disposal of the Committee on Library prohibited the purchase of many books that should be on our shelves, and forbade the binding of numerous and valuable magazines, papers, and pamphlets, now in the possession of this SOCIETY.

Some progress has been made in the carding of the unclassified section of the Library, and for this the SOCIETY is indebted to Miss Clare, Miss Ellen McDevitt, Miss Mary Byrnes, and Miss Costello.

It is hoped that during the coming year this work may be completed.

The Board bears cheerful testimony to the good work done for the SOCIETY by Professor Edward Roth and for the splendid services rendered by Miss A. M. McGowan, both to the library and the general affairs of the SOCIETY.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS TO LIBRARY AND CABINET DURING THE YEAR 1900.

Bequest of John P. Murta:

American Catholic Quarterly Review, complete set, bound.

Brownson's Review, complete set, bound.

"Records of the American Catholic Historical Society," 6 vols., bound.

The Catholic University Bulletin, 5 vols., 2 nos., paper.

The Catholic University Chronicle, 1 vol.

The Catholic University Year Book, 5 nos.

Ninety-eight vols. miscellaneous books and odd numbers of magazines.

Catholic Record, complete set, bound.

From Miss L. M. Apsley:
The Room of the Rose, by Miss Sara Trainer Smith.

From Miss S. A. Moore:
Souvenir of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the C. T. A. U. of America.
Number of volumes of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart and Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs.

From M. I. J. Griffin:
Lettres Edifiantes . . . Troisième edition, 7 vols., Paris, 1835.
The History of the Life of Our Lord, . . . by DeLigny, N. Y., 1851.
Copies of documents in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa.
Copies of documents at Notre Dame University. Printed in the American Catholic Historical Researches.
Register of members of the I. C. B. U. Societies.
L'Univers. Paris, 1852.
The Life of St. Francis Xavier. Philadelphia, 1798.
Letters on the English Nation, by Batista Angeloni, Vol. I., London, 1755.
The Ave Maria, Vol. XIV., bound.
Pictures of Bishops Quigley and de St. Palais.

From Ferdinand J. Dreer:
Bundle of old letters.
Framed copy of the last letter of Washington.

From I. J. Dohan:
Souvenir of the Reopening of St. Malachi's Church, Philadelphia.
Seventh Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Penitentiary.
Souvenir of St. Agnes' Hospital, Philadelphia.
Souvenir of St. Bonifacius' Church, Philadelphia.
Semi-Centennial celebration of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company, Philadelphia.
Number of Church calendars.
Centennial Souvenir of Marietta, Ohio, 1888.

From St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia:
The Courses leading to the Baccalaureate in Harvard College and Boston College, by Rev. T. Brosnahan, S. J.

From Historical Society of Pennsylvania:
Proceedings of the Society on the death of Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D., held May 21, 1900.

From Dr. L. F. Flick:
Five numbers of Portugal Em Africa, 1900.
Odd numbers of Nazareth Chronicle, etc.

From Mr. O'Farrell, Boston, Mass.:
Sixteen numbers of the Gael. New York.

From Dr. M. O'Hara:
Odd numbers of the C. T. A. News of Philadelphia.

From Jos. A. Weber:
Odd numbers of magazines, calendars, ordos, etc.

From Miss Jane Campbell:
Calendars of St. Vincent de Paul's Church, Germantown.

From Walter George Smith:
Philadelphia: The Book of its Bourse and Co-operating Public Bodies. By Geo. W. Engelhardt. Book Catalogues.
One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Annual Dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

From Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.:
Annual Report for the year ending May 7, 1900.

From St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, Md.:
Catalogue, 1899-1900.

From S. M. Sener, Lancaster, Pa.:
An Ancient History, . . . A. J. B. Vuibert, Baltimore, 1886.
Cobb's New Spelling Book.
Zion's Pilgrim. (No title page.)
The Monk: A Romance, Vol. III., Paris, 1807.
Parker's Historical Reader.
Cobb's Reader.
Goodrich's Reader.
Hymns for Sunday Schools. Published by order of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church.
Odd numbers of magazines.

From Department of State, Washington, D. C.:
Commercial Relations of the United States. Two volumes.
Special Consular Reports, Vol. XVI., Part III., 1899.
Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1898-99.

From Very Rev. T. C. Middleton, D.D., O.S.A.:

An old Cuban Berretta.
Iron ring and staple from a dungeon in Morro Castle, Havana.
Small piece of wood from the "Maine."
Conversion of St. Augustine and other Poems, by Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly.
Villanova Monthly, Vols. I. to V., bound.
Our Lady of Good Counsel, Vol. VIII., bound; number of magazines.
Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, 1896.
A Real Story, by Mrs. Briard F. Hill (Legislature), Boston, 1855.
A Review of the Proceedings of the Nunnery Committee of Massachusetts.
The Irish Race in California, . . . by Dr Quigley, 1878.
Practical Rule of Life, same author.
Letters in defence of the Faith, same author.
Foreign Ideas in the Catholic Church, . . . by Geo. Zurcher.
The "Scotch-Irish" shibboleth analyzed and rejected, . . . by Joseph Smith, Washington, 1898.
The Comprehensive Church, or Christian Unity and Ecclesiastical Union in the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, 1879.

From St. John's Church, Philadelphia:

Souvenir of the Reopening of St. John's Church, three copies.
Church calendars.

From F. X. Reuss:

Several volumes of St. Vincent's Journal, Beatty, Pa.
Catalogue of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, 1899-1900.
Illustrated Prospectus of Ursuline Academy, Galveston, Tex.
Catalogue of Santa Clara College, 1900.
Number of Church calendars, books, etc., amounting to about four hundred items.

From the State Library, Albany, N. Y.:

New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, second edition, 1900.
Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, Vols. I., II., and III., New York, 1899-1900.
State Library Bulletin History, No. 4, Albany, 1900.

From Dr. B. F. DeCosta:

Father Jogues at the Lake of the Holy Sacrament, New York, 1900.

From State Library of Pennsylvania:

House Journal, 1899; Senate Journal, 1899; Law Catalogue, 1899; Governor's Message, 1899; Thirty-third G. A. R. Encampment, 1899; School Laws, 1899; Reports of Public Charities, 1898; Reports of Fish Commissioners, 1898-99; State Librarian, 1898-99; State College, 1897-98; Sec. Internal Affairs, Parts I. to V.; Fire Insurance, 1898-99; Life Insurance, 1898; Factory Inspector, 1898-99; Banking, 1898-99; Agriculture, 1898; Board of Health, 1898; Public Printing, 1898; Auditor General, 1897-98; Public Instruction, 1898-99; State Treasurer, 1898-99; Soldiers' Orphan Schools, 1899.

From Chicago Historical Society:

Report of Annual Meeting, 1899.

From The Canadian Institute:

Transactions of the Institute, Semi-Centennial Memorial Volume, 1849-1899.

Proceedings, No. 9, Vol. II., Part 3, February, 1900.

From the Ave Maria Press:

Education and the Future of Religion, . . . by Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding.

From Drew Theological Seminary:

Sixth Printed Report of the Library, Madison, N. J.

From Miss Teresa Cahill:

Vols. XL. to LI. of the Catholic World.

From Rev. M. J. Griffith:

The Cross of Christ, the Measure of the World, New York, n.d.

The Mystery Solved; or, The Prophetic History of the Church, by Rev. M. J. Griffith.

From State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado:

Report . . . with articles of incorporation . . . 1889.

Report for 1889-90.

From Seminaire de Nicolet:

Catalogue of the Seminary, 1899-1900.

From A. M. Buck, Ebensburg, Pa.:

Souvenir of Loretto Centenary, 1799-1899. Edited by Rev. Ferdinand Kittell.

From Hon. Wm. McAleer:
Abridgment of the Messages and Documents of the President. Six volumes, 1896-99.
Register of the Navy and Marine Corps of the United States to January, 1899.
Report of Committee on Foreign Relations . . . relative to affairs in Cuba.
Official Army Register for 1899.
Report of the Census of the United States, 1890.
Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, Vol. I., January 31, 1900.

From P. S. Dooner:
Statistical Atlas and Map of the United States based on the Census of 1890.

From University of California:
Annual Report of the Secretary to the Board of Regents . . . for the year ending January 30, 1899.

From Professor Edward Roth:
The World's Columbian Exposition. Illustrated, three vols.

From Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, Canada:
Papers and Records, Vol. III., 1900.

From Rev. Bernard M. Skulik:
Whiskey, Chicago, 1900.

From Bernard L. Douredoure:
Life of Mother Gonzaga, by Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly, 1900.

From Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly:
Life of Mother Gonzaga.
History of Satterlee Hospital, by Rev. Nathaniel West, . . . 1863.

From John Thomson, Librarian Philadelphia Free Library:
Bulletin of the Free Library, No. 4. Some Notes on the Bibliography of the Philippines, by Rev. Thos. Cooke Middleton, D.D., O.S.A.

From Historical Society of Wisconsin:
An address at the dedication of the Building . . . at Madison, October 19, 1900, by Charles Francis Adams, LL.D.

From Catholic University of America:
Year Book of the University, 1900-1901.

From State Librarian, Dr. Reed:
Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vols., XV., XVII., XVIII., XIX.
Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Vols. I. to X., and Appendix.

From Rev. Jas. P. Turner:
Four large parcels of Anti-Catholic literature.

From Miss Mary O'Reilly:
Programme of Concert of St. Joseph's College, July 7, 1859.

From Miss Laura Blackburne:
Two old chairs from St. John's Church, Philadelphia.

From F. McDevitt:
Souvenir of the Reopening of St. John's Church.

From St. Joseph's Church:
Letters on the Colonization Society, . . . by M. Carey, 1834.

From Dr. Edward J. Nolan:
Several letters written by a young Alaskan Indian.

From Estate of Miss Blight:
Odd numbers of magazines.

MEDALS, CURIOS, ETC.

From Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, D.D., LL.D., through Miss E. C. Donnelly:
A silver medal of the Archbishop's Episcopal Jubilee, 1897.
A Jubilee button of same date.
A bronze medal commemorating the centennial anniversary of American Independence.
A bronze medal of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, Pa.
A bronze medal of Our Lady of Good Counsel.

From Rev. F. X. Wastl:
Medal commemorating the Jubilee of 1900:

From Miss E. C. Donnelly:
Silver medal commemorating a Slavonic pilgrimage to Pope Leo XIII. in 1881.

From Ursuline Sisters, Montana:
Model of an Indian tepee and other Indian relics.

In the matter of Entertainments, a number of valuable and interesting lectures were given before the SOCIETY, which were well attended by the members and their friends.

January 19. Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., addressed the Society on "Father Jogues."

May 15. J. Fairfax McLaughlin, LL.D., on "Forefathers' Day."

May 30. The distribution of prizes for essays on Catholic subjects written by children of the parochial schools took place, the chief prize being given to Miss Stella A. Segrest, for an article on "St. Anne's Church."

October 17. Very Rev. Herbert Farrell, V.F., on "Savonarola."

November 7. Rt. Rev. John B. Brondel, on the "Catholic Indians and Missions of Montana."

November 23. Dr. B. F. DeCosta, on the treasures to be found in the "Vatican Archives relating to Pre-Columbian America."

During Lent seasonable addresses were made:

March 7, by Very Rev. D. I. McDermott.

March 14, by Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. F. Loughlin, D.D.

March 21, by Walter George Smith, Esq.

March 28, by Very Rev. John J. Fedigan, O.S.A.

A series of lectures on Catholic History are now being given on Sunday evenings, by Rt. Rev. Monsignor Loughlin, to be followed by Rev. H. J. Heuser on Sacred Scripture, and on Thursday evenings an exhaustive series on Psychology, by Rev. F. P. Siegfried, to be followed by Rev. James A. Doonan, S. J., on Ethics.

The efforts of the Committee on Entertainment which have provided such a successful course are deserving of all praise, and cannot be passed by without notice.

The following is a statement of the finances of the SOCIETY for the year ending November 30, 1900:

Balance, December 1, 1899		$453 22
RECEIPTS.		
Dues from Active Members	$2624 25	
" " Contributing Members	62 00	
" " Life Members	600 00	
		3286 25
Advertisements	$700 45	
Subscriptions to RECORDS	363 20	
Sale of RECORDS	118 37	
		1182 02
Contribution to Mortgage Fund	$25 00	
Sale of Duplicates	1 25	
Refund of Entertainment Committee	40 44	
Loans	200 00	
Librarian Fund	377 50	
Overdrawn Commission	6 00	
Interest on Deposit	29 70	
		679 89
		$5601 38

EXPENSES.

Account of mortgage	$400 00		
Interest on mortgage	545 61		
Loan repaid	100 00		
Gas, coal, wood	242 05		
Water-rent	15 80		
Repairs and improvements	99 36		
		$1402 82	
Salary, librarian's	$450 00		
" archivist's	200 00		
" clerk's	490 00		
		1140 00	
Printing four Nos. RECORDS	$952 91		
Paper for RECORDS	474 51		
Half-tones	241 97		
Postage	99 06		
Reprints, circulars	57 55		
Copyright	3 50		
Commissions	432 40		
		2261 90	
Postage, stationery, and printing	$227 78		
Commission on Memberships	240 00		
Advanced to Entertainment Committee	44 42		
		512 20	
Books	$15 10		
Jesuit Relations	63 00		
Catalogue cards, etc	38 18		
		116 28	
Premium on Treasurer's bond		10 00	
			5443 20
Balance November 30, 1900			$158 18

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE DECEASED

MATHEW CAREY.

WRITER, PRINTER, PUBLISHER.

TENTH SERIES.

REV. FRANCIS X. BROSIUS TO MATHEW CAREY.

BOSTON, March 12, 1813.

DEAR & MUCH ESTEEMED SIR:—Cavallo being on the point of being published, I shall soon write to Mr. Dobson & request him to deliver Mr. Carrell the copies which I have a right to—Mr. Carrell will then deliver them to you on the terms mentioned in your last. This precaution I think to be necessary on account of Mr. D's singularity which you mentioned to me. After receiving them, I shall thank you for a receipt for the amount of what Dr. Matignon owes you for the bibles, which he will pay to me. The remainder of my debt to you you will also be good enough to take out. I should long ago have had the pleasure of writing to you, had I had something certain to relate to you concerning my own affairs, which are yet totally at a stand & must thus continue, I fear, during the present hard times, which are here more severely felt, than in your city.

I condole with you most sincerely in the affliction with which it has pleased God to visit you. On next Monday I shall offer the H. Sacrifice for that dear elect. please to present my respects to Mrs. Carey & family & believe that I shall forever be with esteem & respect

dear Sir.

Your F. X. BROSIUS.

Mr. Lavigne & family wish to be remembered to you.

REV. FRANCIS X. BROSIUS TO MATHEW CAREY.

BOSTON Oct. 12, 1816.

DEAR SIR:—When I wrote to you last, I had already my fears, that your order, or draft, for the sum of fifty Dollars in bills of the banks of the City of New York due to Mr. Lavigne by Mr. Collier, of Charlestown, would arrive here after my departure—my fears were not without foundation—I shall leave Boston to-morrow morning &

your letter cannot be expected before the 14 or 15 inst., I regret not having requested you in my letter to make your draft payable to the order of the Revd Dr. Matignon, as by this precaution every difficulty would have been obviated. The Revd. Dr. Matignon has advanced me the above mentioned sum. I must therefore request you to see the same paid to him in case he cannot recover it here by presenting your draft without my name upon it. He is by me authorized to endorse the draft for me, but it is possible that notwithstanding this, difficulties be made and in this case the draft will be returned to you for another to the Revd Dr. Matignon's order wishing you health, happiness, and prosperity I remain sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your obedt and respectful.

Servant.

F. X. BROSIUS.

BOSTON October 29.

DEAR SIR:—Rd. Mr. Brosius leaving this town more than 15 days ago assured me that you would send him the 50 dollars mentioned above in less than a week. Not hearing from you I send you the above lines which he left with me;

Expecting the favour of an answer I remain.

Sir, Your obedient Servant.

FR. MATIGNON.

P. S. Mr. Brosius observed to me that the above were agreed to be paid, not in Boston's, but in New York's bills. The difference is at this time very small. You may however deduct it, if you choose. A Draught payable here would oblige me but if more convenient to you, you may send it payable in New York.

Addressed Mr Matthew Carey Bookseller.

Market Street no 222.

Philadelphia.

REV. FRANCIS X. BROSIUS TO MATHEW CAREY.

BRUSSELS 27 NOV. 1817.

DEAR SIR:—Too much occupation and hurry have prevented me from writing to you once more before my departure from Boston: I hope you will allow me to make up for this involuntary neglect by these few lines. You are undoubtedly entitled to my grateful remembrance for all the attention and kindness you have so liberally bestowed on me, since I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with you. Mr. Carrell to whom I also have written but a few days ago, will no doubt communicate my Letter to you, I shall therefore not repeat here anything I have said to him.—If you think I can be of any service to

you in Antwerp, I hope you will without reserve dispose of me—I wish you would put it in my power to show you my gratitude—I do not know, whether the lithographic engraving lately invented by a german be already known in America. A portrait which otherwise would require the work of six months can by this new method be completely executed in less than a week. The engraving or drawing is performed on a stone of a certain kind found in some parts of Germany, with crayons and three kinds of ink composed of a variety of ingredients—copper or wood engravings and common drawing are perfectly imitated—any number of copies may be taken in a short time with a press also of a new kind. The stone is then washed or scraped a little to serve for other engravings. The inventor has received a pension of about 2000$. Mr. Lavigne has bought the secret—had he possessed it in America he would have done very wrong to leave that country. This method is already much in vogue in Germany and in france, but not so much here. The news of this country you know as well by your papers as we do here. Much dissatisfaction prevails in this formerly so happy country most in every rank. The laws that were in existence under the former reign are still the same, and nothing has been gained by the change, tho' much has been gained in those provinces that were given to Austria or Prussia, where the contributions are nothing when compared with what they are here. Will our good old times ever return? it can hardly be expected. Church affairs are now on the point of being settled in France and in the Austrian dominions. In Prussia and here much more, it will be far more difficult to have matters arranged between the pope and the respective temporal rulers.

I hope you will give me the satisfaction of hearing from you soon—I shall with much pleasure receive and read your kind letters and be faithful in answering them. I have given my address to Mr. Carrell, please to remember me to your worthy family and present them my respects—Mr Lavigne & my sister join me in this most cordially. I am with much esteem and attachment,

Dear Sir,
Your very respectful servant
and forever devoted friend,
F. X. Brosius.

Bishop Bruté to Mathew Carey.

Baltimore, St. Mary's College
13 Feby 1816.

Dear Sir:—I remember with great pleasure the short moment of acquaintance with you I enjoyed in Philadelphia, last 9ber as I was coming back from France. I read Mr. Shobert's translation of Cha-

teaubriand with which you gifted me in such an obliging manner, it seems to me generally exact and elegant—but the notes of Rev^{d}. Mr. Kett, which you told me have been objected to, truly seem to me insignificant & improper. I wish they sh^{d} be suppressed in any second edition and it w^{d} be the less acceptable for it to the public at large and, to the Catholics especially— Mr. Kett had already given bad specimens enough of his bitter & bigoted dispositions in his elements of Gne. Knowledge as well as his unfitness for adding notes to a work of genius, the many & considerable faults of which might indeed admit of very interesting notes but of quite another cast and intent than his fuhle [*sic,* foolish] and sometimes rediculous ones. Look only at them, dear Sir, being so well informed of the matters concerned in them I need but to call your attention to them.

Pref. XIII Entering his general protest against the *papistical* tendency of the work—yet ranking Chateaubriand with names which he supposes the most exceptionable for Catholics, as is at least that of Scarpi, though by no means a protestant as has been evinced ex professo in an apologetical dissertation lately published in Genoa. . . .

P) page 28 Some *Whys* impertinent enough—as if Chateaub^{d} had to praise so many jarring names, which in Justice might have given right of admittance to other not so agreeable to Rev. Kett, the Socin for example &c . . . *papists* again though such an appellation or nickname is long ago to the awl of rancourous controvertists and is never more ill placed than in notes upon a literary performance of a Catholic author whose expressions have nothing of that turn . . . remark in that page a fault of the translator who calls "superficial" the style of Beza (?) which Chateaubriand meant rather to praise for its "legerite" and agreeableness.

P) page 49. a sorry little note on the beautiful simplicity and perfect sufficiency of the liturgy of England in the performance of its Empty last supper.—w^{d} it be a great loss to strike it out.

P. 138 if it is meant that the Theophilantropists denied a future life I don't think they did and we need not make the devil blacker than it is.

P. 144 good only for England as many other notes—I do not see the propriety of preserving in our American editions such little additions of a local turn and interest, whenever they can be easily suppressed as it was the case for Memowika (?) so full of triffling British anecdotes—besides Nelson got too bad a name for quotation among Christian heroes though I am sensible that many others in the books w^{d} feel that *severity* and have at the *errata* immoral for immortal.—

P. 280. Iconoclasts not to be vindicated in *such* a book still less the Catholic Idoltry sh^{d} be stigmatized in the case.

P. 290. the usual misrepresentation as for Galileo—and the enmity of Rome to silences and arts?—the unexceptionable and exclusive

praise of protestant brought in opposition,—when sad recrimination wd be at hand on all sides, Descartes, Vautwieten (?) &c.

P. 390. Dissenters & Infidels join Catholics in the laugh at the rediculous reproach and the wonderful improvement "a king the head of the church."

P. 397. *Charity* the all sufficient proof of truth—all in succession must be allowed to use the *decisive* proof, and catholics too—then untill Mr. Wharton *proves* by the *facts* that "charity is incompatible with the principles of the church of Rome" as he asserted it. *Verbatim* M Kett must take them for *true* which surely cannot be except, curious enough his own are false—unhappily *truth* and the *knowledge* of *truth* may to well be found without *charity*—dont think good Mr. Kett I am just here in the case, I wish you wd be converted, but in conscience I owe no more *charity* to your notes.

P. 399 was Chateaubriand to keep his (?) of all such British institutions?—yet had Mr. Kett claimed for equal assertion, no great harm—but such an angry tone of superiority, that insolence of British Excellence, who could bear—are the American editors obliged to gratify it.

P. 439. a poor comparison for the missions and the same sorry turn of competition & jealousy—Mr Kett wrongs all that he touches.

P. 472 such a (?) & prophecy "the church of England alone &c" calls for smiles—deists wd join—long ago Shaftesbury treated properly such mock pretensions &c—rather for Mr Ketts sake do suppress such notes—

for the whole I refer to you, Mr. Carey, in case of a new edition even ought you to give some strictures on these notes in any of your Magazines in Philadelphia let not that pride of England and its Church thus force itself upon us in everything thus intrude even in the simple translation of a book which had to appear by itself or receive quite other notes it is a kind of imposition to expose an inoffensive author in a disgraceful light, without any possibility for him of making any reply—thus silently standing a fool before his readers & become a subject of scandel & abuse for the cause sacred to his heart and which he intended to exhibit in its true character & beauty—at least his Catholic editor ought to feel for him the sad inconvenience, protect his honor & that of a common cause—this I dare recommend to your consideration, dear Sir, I entreat you if a new edition is to be given strike out with honest jealousy such insignificant notes, a mere superfetation (?) and a disgrace for the translation of Mr. Shobert it wd be but the more acceptable after such a suppression not only to Catholic individuals & institutions, but to protestants of any other denomination than the Church of England and to the men of letters, at large.

Show my letter if you judge it proper to our friends of St. Mary & St. Augustine, they will join in the prayer and in every fervent desires as I form them in my heart to have you in all such honour as you

must be in your liberal profession that piety which alone has the true "promises of the life which is now and of the life to come."

Most respectfully, dear sir,

Your Obedient Servant.

S. BRUTÉ.

BISHOP BRUTÉ TO MATHEW CAREY.

BALTIMORE 17 April 1816.

DEAR SIR:—be pleased to favour me with an immediate answer in this case of one of your countrymen just arrived at this port from Ireland, 8 days since he says his brother John O'Sullivan must live in Philadelphia a merchant, to whom having written he has received no answer as yet. that he was a clerk at your store these seven or eight years ago, having lived first at Mr. Philip Duffy South Water Str. 86—then when he left you he married a Miss Doherty and kept then a store. he does not know in what line of business; only that he directed his letters to him "John O'Sullivan Mercht. Philadelphia." & received answers till the middle of 1811. the beginning of the war & then received no more of his letters—

this young man Denis O'Sullivan from Cork has been a pay student at Maynooth, never intended for the clergy, but having got his complete education Latin, Greek & Philosophy asked us some office in the college till he may hear of his friends—we have none to give him now, but I write to you to have if possible the direction & present situation of his brother—

had you lost sight of him you might have the letter communicated to Dr. Carr & between you two I rely for immediate information in this interesting case. With respect Sir,

Your obedt. Servt.

S. BRUTÉ, Presdt. of St. Mary's

BISHOP BRUTÉ TO MATHEW CAREY.

BALTIMe. ST. MARY'S COLLEGE
St. Patrick's day — 1807 —

MY DEAR SIR:—this is not at all in the line of business—but your politeness to me when I passed the other year through your city has left my heart full of may say in truth—of a particular degree of concern for your soul—besides such a remarkable character & writer is not an indifferent loss to religion—however to meddle thus is, may be, something very near indiscretion—and a useless exposure of my own character. Still I venture, & trust to an Irish heart on the day of St. Patrick to make in his name some faint effort on it—you might have

so well served the cause of religion, and I am afraid you hurt it so much that the thought of your last account, every day at hand as well as mine, seems to me a dark one—for have you any evidence against your former faith to protect you in the examen of what you will have done to its injury? alas! how many other souls may be concerned in your own case? your poor sister here, I have pretty long ceased to see her—I know not if it gratify you, but it grieves me—but you, yourself how do you in this advanced period of lent think of your pascal communion? this the criterion—I wd not turn the page, and can enough repeat I *trust* to you for such free effusions & hope you can see but respect & love in them

S. Bruté.

Rev. Michael Hurley, (DD., O.S.A.), to Mathew Carey.

[*No date.*]

Dear Sir:—Had I been able to *enjoy* your company to-morrow and that of your respectable *guest,* I would not now be *here* to receive your friendly invitation. Tomorrow was my Sunday at Trenton, but owing to the horrid, the obstinate cold which yet pursues me, in defiance, of all that I can do to conquer it, I have deemed it more prudent to remain where I am, hoping that a few days care will cure me from the hoarseness, under which I have now laboured for three weeks. As Dr. Gallagher is an old—a very old acquaintance of Dr. Carr's, and would wish to pass as much time in his company as practicable, I would beg leave to suggest to you the idea of inviting Dr. Carr.—I lose much but cannot help it, tho I have not been out of the house for twelve days I may still call in after dinner, as I am delighted with Dr. G's company.— God grant that we may have a good collection.

Respectfully yours

M. Hurley.

[Note.—This note is on the second page of the above letter.]

BAPTISMS.

Roman Catholics	100	.58
German Lutherans	100	27.6
Presbyterians	100	82.8

Rev. Francis Matignon to Mathew Carey.

Boston August the 10th 1816

Dear Sir:—Mr. Brosius, living at some distance from Boston, desired me to send you back your order in his favour, & to inform you that according to your letter he has drawn on you for the same sum in favour of [*blank.*]

I have here a number of French-Catholic testamts, of a very fine edition which, to oblige the editor I have taken from him at a reduced price. If you consent to it, I mean to send you a number on which I shall allow you 50 per 100, to be paid in your own books, say followings of Xt & think well on't, or any of the kind, Please to mention to me if it will be agreeable to you.

I remain very respectfully
Dear Sir,
Your obedt Servant
FR. MATIGNON.

REV. FRANCIS MATIGNON TO MATHEW CAREY.

[*Date torn off.*]

DEAR SIR:—I have put on board of schooner *Regulator, Norton* Master who expect to sail to day, a bundle covered in paper containing 6 Catholic nouveau testaments, in 2 vols. 8 each, boards—In common paper the sold 3 *dols* ½ each & 4 dollars in such paper as these are. You may count them at two, & send me when convenient 4 *Spanish prayer books* & the rest in think well on it, unless you have some *following of Xt.,* in which case I should wish to have a half a dozen of them, the rest in *think well on't*—

Could you send on board, when the News-papers will announce the arrival of the *Regulator,* it will be safer as the masters of— neglect to send bundles to their destination. Your name is on the bundle. Rd. M. Brosius sends his compliments. Our Bishop is on his mission in the dt. of Maine—

I remain,
Yr Servant,
F. MATIGNON.

ROBERT WALN TO MATHEW CAREY.

MATTHEW CAREY.

SIR:—A gentleman left at my house (this afternoon) the enclosed draft of a memorial to Congress on the subject of Domestic Manufactures with a request that I would sign and return it to you.—

From the form of it, it appears, to be from the citizens generally—I must decline signing it because I do think it inexpedient to petition Congress on the subject at this time; and that whenever we do Petition it should be confined to the single object of rendering the existing law permanent.

I have another objection which applies to the extract of a letter printed on the back of the petition. I do not think the private letter of an individual however respectable, ought to be introduced into this

business, neither can I subscribe to all that is contained in it, and should I sign the petition the fair inference would be, that I not only approved the whole of it but that I was desirous of recommending similar opinions to others.

I am very repy

your friend

Feb. 13 1817. ROB WALN.

ROBERT WALN TO MATHEW CAREY.

[*No date, no place.*]

SIR:—a memorial you sent me I will certainly sign as President of the Society if authorised to do so—yet I shoud be better pleased had the Paragraph respecting the evasion of the Duties been omitted. It seems to imply that such evasions have taken place in this district, when in Fact this is not the case in any considerable degree and its admission will furnish the opponents of the high duties with a very strong argument against them viz. the impossibility of preventing smuggling (whilst the temptation is so great) without resorting to means so expensive as to absorb a great portion of the revenue, and to a system so inquisitorial as to be highly objectionable to the Public—at all events the Petition must be altered in its form if it is to go from the Society, and if the observation I have made should appear of sufficient weight, the Paragraph respecting the revenue may be omitted.

Being absent from the meetings of the Society, I know not the course the business has taken—was the Memorial agreed to at a general meeting or was a commee appointed to draw it up & forward it without submitting it to the Society. I am respectfly

Yours.

ROB WALN.

JOSEPH MILLIGAN TO MATHEW CAREY.

GEORGETOWN July 3rd 1817.

Mr Mathew Carey

To Joseph Milligan

To 150 Pious Guide at	1.00 (sheep)	$150 .
" 25 Do Black Morocco.	1.25	31 . 25
		$181 = 25
45 P cent off		81 = 56½
		99 = 68½

SIR:—Enclosed you will receive a bill of Lading which is for a Box containing the above together with the Doway Testaments both

bound and in sheets from Mr Duffey, he will have another box to send and with it I will send the residue of the Pious guide

Yours with esteem,

JOSEPH MILLIGAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MATHEW CAREY.

MONTICELLO June 28. 18.

DEAR SIR:—Soon after the date of my letter of the 21st I received Bridgeman's Index safely, and had taken for granted McMahon was coming with it, but as it did not come I presume it has either been forgotten or is lodged by the way. in either case I ask your information & attention to it; and further that you will be so kind as to inform me whether a copy of Baron Crimm's memoirs (16 vols 8vo) can be had, and at what price? I salute you with friendship and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

MR. M. CAREY.

Addressed:

free Th. Jefferson

Milton Va
30 June.

Mr. Matthew Carey

Philadelphia.

BOOK REVIEWS.

History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Hartford, Conn. By the Rev. James H. O'Donnell. 1900.

Next to the merit of performing worthy deeds is, if not equal, the merit of duly recording them; and Father O'Donnell has deserved all this merit in reciting for posterity the hardships of the early missionaries in planting the Church in Connecticut. It is not in any sense a mere chronicle of men and events, drawn from sources both doubtful and unreliable. The best authorities have been consulted and compared, and the documents found and quoted give us the assurance that Father O'Donnell is a most careful historian, and that his work will be a standard authority on Catholic history. Certainly everything human has its flaws, and lies open to criticism, but the above-mentioned work will be familiarly quoted when the criticisms will be long out of sight. The twentieth century will pass, and the history of the Church in Connecticut will merit more praise for the writer as each year goes by.

It is certainly impossible for the reader to verify each and every statement made in any history, but Father O'Donnell is one of the most careful historians, and assures us that the work in question has been carefully revised, and so we may receive the work with the assurance that it is a welcome acquisition to the history of the Catholic Church in America. When we consider the vast amount of material that has passed before the eyes of the writer, and the vast fund of varied information he places in the hands of the reader, we may be assured of the labor necessary to compile the data, even to the smallest details. We cannot but congratulate the writer that another volume has been added to the history of the Church in America.

Francis X. Reuss.

Sheldon's Studies in American History. Boston. D. C. Heath & Co. 1898.

The attempt to tell the story of our national progress by excerpts from public documents and private correspondence is not altogether new in the more advanced works on our political history; the extent, however, to which the principle has been carried in this study is new in a school-book, and whatever merit is possessed by the work before us may be fairly ascribed to this fundamental idea.

In illustrating the development of the United States any one of a great variety of methods may be adopted, but in a general way there is bound to be a considerable resemblance in the outline. As in nearly all modern text-books on our history, the pre-Columbian period is first discussed in Sheldon's history. In this chapter the work of the monks, as well as their place in civilization, is spoken of with respect. The excerpts from Marco Polo's book are selected with judgment, and show that the authors' sense of the picturesque is well developed. The causes, however, which influenced oriental travel in that and in the preceding ages are, if known to Mrs. and Mr. Barnes, not even alluded to. It was not, indeed, to be expected that the writers would include in an elementary history of the United States an account of the Crusades, and it is not surprising that the activity of the Franciscans in the succeeding period is altogether overlooked, for Catholic missionaries themselves have in all ages had more serious work than the glorification of their respective orders. The selections illustrating Columbus's career in Spain are admirable in a school-book, but the failure to point out the services of the good prior of De la Rabida, Father Perez, is an unaccountable omission. This interesting event is happily described in the pages of Washington Irving. The reproduction of contemporary charts is a valuable feature of the first chapter.

The second "group," as the next section of this book is styled, is occupied mainly in an account of the early voyages of the Italian navigators who conducted the first expeditions for Spain, France, and England. The student is left, as in

the preceding chapter, to construct for himself a narrative of these important events, and few young persons, we fear, are equal to so difficult a task.

A colored map exhibits the distribution in the United States of the aboriginal races. Whether the principle of their classification be differences of dialect or inequality in civilization, the object of the authors would be best attained by printing in different colors the respective areas roamed over by the various tribes. This is not attempted, but there is inserted instead a physical map of our country. That portion of the text describing the daily life, the civilization, and chief characteristics of the Indian is all that could be desired in a school-book.

A very important portion of the task undertaken by the authors is that part concerned with our colonial history. The selections bearing upon this section, though of undoubted interest, are altogether too elliptical to be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for some of the interesting and attractive narratives that have preceded the present work.

The enterprise, the intelligence, and the sacrifices of the French Jesuits are deservedly commended, and we may observe at this point that there is exhibited nowhere in the book any hostility to either the Catholic Church or its representatives. In this section the conclusions of Parkman have been generally adopted.

Except the French and Indian, all the inter-colonial wars have been omitted. The defeat of Braddock and the capture of Quebec are given the place of emphasis. Without writing a full narrative, the expulsion of France from North America is a subject of too great importance to be passed over without an ample account.

The scattered selections designed to furnish a sketch of the Revolution fall short, we think, of attaining their purpose. An attractive abridgment of John Fiske's volumes would be an undoubted improvement in this part of the book. Indeed, that interesting writer has demonstrated how an energetic and well-digested short study of a great theme may be rendered more attractive than a detailed history of the same subject, for his account of the War for Independence

is itself no more than an abridgment of the minute and circumstantial history edited by Justin Winsor.

The remarks concerning the first half of the work under examination apply with equal force to the second half, or that portion dealing with the national period of our existence. The authorities quoted illustrate the subject, indeed, but do not constitute a clear and attractive narrative. There is, to be sure, a service which this method, indispensable to the mature student, may render to even the youngest reader. Probably there is no way in which the incidents attending the secession of South Carolina could be more widely impressed upon the memory than by giving in reduced facsimile that column of the *Charleston Mercury* which announced the action of the State Convention on December 20, 1860.

Excerpts have their uses; they must not, however, be relied upon to supply the absence of a narrative sufficiently ample, interesting, and instructive. They are extremely valuable to one familiar with the subject-matter, but the work before us is designed to introduce young Americans to the elements of their country's history. To many merits the work before us unites many deficiencies.

Life of Sister Mary Gonzaga Grace. By Eleanor C. Donnelly. Philadelphia. 1900.

In the reading of this latest work from the pen of Miss Donnelly the feeling that is apt to be created in the reader is what we may term a recuperative feeling; and therefore, in these days, a very wholesome and much-to-be desired feeling. There is no doubt that we have a plethora of books dealing with the lives of religious in which their sanctity and self-abnegation are so proclaimed from the heights that the eyes of the average reader become fatigued in the endeavor to behold what is set up for his admiration, and he is apt to abandon the effort and return to the things which he can understand. And so biographies that should please and instruct are tedious and long drawn out; we place them on the small table in the corner, we lend them to our friends, or we keep them for the Lenten sea-

son. While the subjects of these biographies may have to bear the burden of such posthumous blunders, the fault lies with those who essayed the works. They adopt an ecstatic and high-falutin style and are not to be understood of the reader who wishes to read.

On this line Miss Donnelly makes no mistake. Her style —and by style we mean the art of using the right word in the right place—is simple and direct and essentially suited to her subject. We are not troubled with elaborate analysis of character, no so-called niceties, no juggling with words, and no overloading with details. The "Life of Sister Mary Gonzaga Grace" not only sustains but it adds to her reputation. She has treated of her subject so excellently and effectively that on reading it one is led to wonder why works on similar lines are not equally attractive. Of course, the mistake lies in the fact that people who write "for instruction" forget that they should write "for reading" in the first place.

It is but a few years since Sister Mary Gonzaga went from among us. On that day and during the days preceding her funeral we heard much of the seventy years she devoted to the service of the Master. To the inhabitants of this city her life was a revelation. To know that such a life was lived in and for this city was a consolation not only to Catholics but to the members of every creed.

There is not a chapter in this book that does not please, instruct, and gratify the higher tastes of the reader. We shall content ourselves with quoting two paragraphs from the opening and closing chapters.

"Presently a voice broke the oppressive silence of the room. One of the non-Catholics addressed the motherless child in some such words as these:

"'Anne, your father and mother are now both dead. You cannot stay on here, alone. A home must be found for you at once. We are ready to adopt you as our own. You can either come to us, your own flesh and blood; or you can go to this strange young lady who seems willing to take you and provide for you. Choose between us. To whom will you go?'"

At the funeral of Sister Mary Gonzaga (the "Anne" who had to choose between her own flesh and blood and the stranger) "one of the most affecting partings was witnessed in the case of an aged, intelligent, colored man, who had driven the Sisters, whenever they needed a carriage, for over fifty years. Sister Gonzaga regarded him as a trusted friend who had proved his unerring honesty for so long a period. He wept bitterly, as he placed his hand on hers, and then kissed it. When speaking of her, with tears rolling down his cheeks, he said, 'She was a woman, a lady, a Christian, full of good works. Although I am a Methodist, when I was sick she treated me with a mother's care. I cannot tell of her many acts of kindness to me during all those years.'"

That Miss Donnelly chooses to devote her undoubted talents to the service of the Church is a consoling thought to her many Catholic readers. She herself is an exemplar of the right and profitable use of the talents given to us.

David Cotter.

A School History of the United States. By John Bach McMaster. American Book Company. New York.

Though Dr. McMaster needs no introduction to the members of the American Catholic Historical Society, it may not be generally known that he has entered into competition with the compilers of school-books. It is as the author of an elementary history of the United States that we intend on this occasion to speak of our distinguished fellow-citizen.

When students of our annals acquire any considerable body of knowledge concerning our institutions they almost invariably proceed to prepare some elaborate work for the instruction and entertainment of the general reader. This unfortunate practice has for the most part left the writing of school-books in the hands of smatterers in history. The enterprise of the American Book Company, however, has induced Professor McMaster to prepare, in the intervals of more serious historical composition, a work designed for both the grammar and high school grades. This is the only work of its kind that we have read with any degree of profit or

pleasure, and we regret that our limited space forbids an elaborate analysis of the plan, style, and subject-matter of his book. We have little doubt that it is destined ultimately to supersede nearly all of the works of its kind now in use. It will be more generally adopted as the acquaintance of our teachers with American history becomes more complete and accurate. Precisely how Dr. McMaster contrived to include in a volume of five hundred pages so much that is important is a problem that we have not yet satisfactorily solved. The author's standing as a civil engineer is a guaranty for the excellence and accuracy of his maps, which have the rare merit of always illustrating and confirming the text. We know of no work, large or small, that contains so many rare and valuable charts. By means of them our territorial expansion, as well as our industrial progress, is strikingly presented. The excerpts and original documents that occur in the course of this little volume are precisely those which are not easily accessible. They are not, however, allowed to construct a narrative, for this the author does in his own concise and energetic style. The distribution of topics and the emphasis received by each is admirable. It is the national era, the period from 1789 to the Philippine War, that receives most attention, and this we feel is not the result of any happy accident, but rather an additional proof that an enlightened plan pervades the entire work. In conclusion we wish to observe that this book is no less adapted to the requirements of the school-room than to the needs of the general reader. Indeed, few of us who have long been desultory readers of our history have that firm grasp of the subject that would be obtained by a careful perusal of this masterly summary of American history.

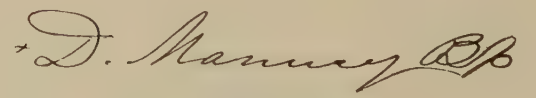
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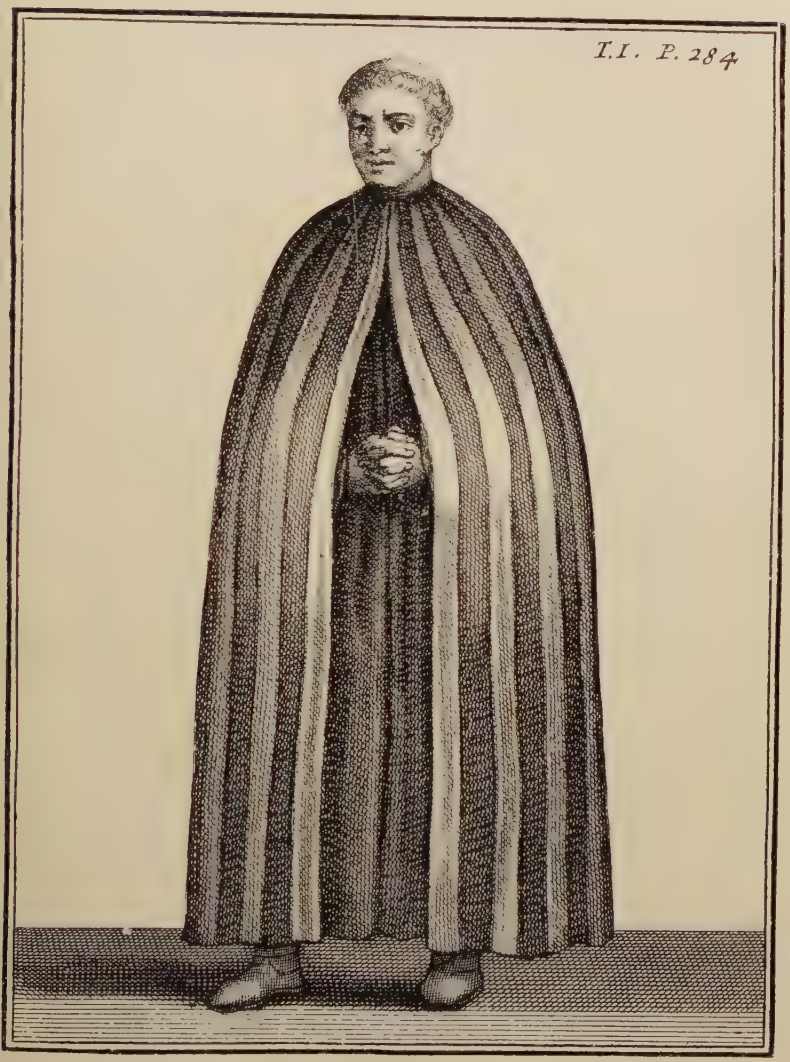


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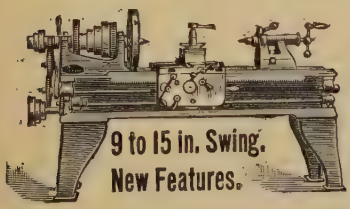
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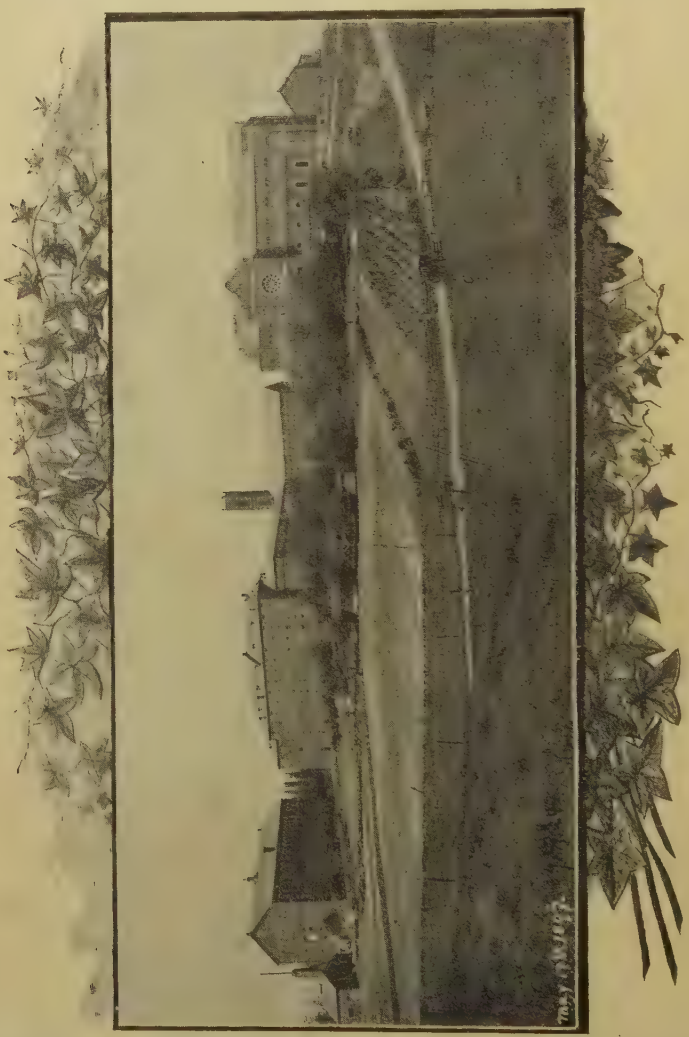
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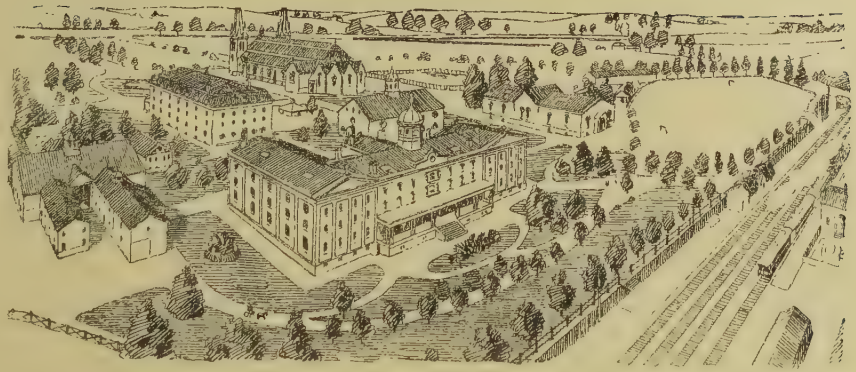
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Born in Dublin, Ireland, July 4, 1804; ordained priest in Rome, Italy, January 28, 1828; died at Villanova, Pa., July 10, 1875.

From a photograph about 1868.

SOME MEMOIRS

OF

OUR LADY'S SHRINE

AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA.

A.D. 1855—1900.

WITH REMINISCENCES OF STILL EARLIER DAYS

BY REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S A.

(CONTINUED.)

FOLLOWING the fashion of his forebears in the Rhine valley, once his home, Mr. Bischoff set about vine-growing at the Hill on rather a large scale; the whole of the side-hill south of his house he had terraced, then planted in vines, in the hopes of being able to gladden his soul with the juicy product thereof.

But alas! for human calculations, by some inexorable law of climatic rigor, was wanting the one thing needed to ripen his vintage,—the rich, sugary nectar of the grape. His fruit would never distil anything stronger than a weakish grapey liquor, good enough in its way, it is true, for a mild beverage, but not just what was yearned for by the grower.

So as years rolled by, and success in wine-making failed to reward his energy, skill, and no little outlay of money, the project was abandoned, the terraces levelled, and the hill, which was perhaps the scene of the first essay at wine-making at Chestnut Hill, abandoned to its primal condition of pasture-land and orchard.

We allude to this effort of Mr. Bischoff in his attempt at viniculture, as another instance, were any really needed, of the energy of the Faithful, displayed elsewhere than at Chestnut Hill, in developing the beauties and excellences of nature by art. The memory of Mr. Bischoff's vineyard shall thus go down to posterity, should posterity care to learn of it, along with the Wissahickon drive, the Fountain below Council Rock, and this Rock itself with the Indian surmounting its summit, with which local improvements were associated men of Catholic spirit and name.*

Besides these early Catholic residents at the Hill, or in the neighborhood of it, the writer names other members of the household of the Faith, who, albeit at least many of them, of humble position in life, were hearty, honest, good-souled people; upright in their ways, industrious, pious folk, in no manner unworthy of having their memories allied with St. Mary's earliest worshippers. Among them were "Tom" Kennedy,—so always called,—and his sister Ellen, better known as "Nellie", both at service, who when the increase of their worldly means allowed the outlay, sent to Ireland, to their old home in county Wexford, for their mother, an aged venerable body, who (the writer remembers well) never went to Mass, nor appeared in public, without her snow-white cap—her only head-cover—and shawl. Thus apparelled he has seen her many a time trudging her long way on foot to Father Domenec's church at Germantown, a good five miles away from her home. The two children of Mrs. Kennedy managed to furnish a comfortable home for their mother in her declining years at Marble Hall, where she died.

Other old-timers were "Johnny" and Michael Meagher, with their sisters Mary Jane and "Judy", of county Kil-

* Subsequently Mr. Bischoff was the first organist and choir-master of Our Lady's,—a position he filled for very many years,—wherein too he was succeeded by two of his children,—John and Ella.

kenny, who with their aged mother lived in the Wissahickon valley not far from what is now Mt. St. Joseph's Academy.*

Then Robert Henry, of county Antrim, gardener at John Bohlen's on the Bethlehem pike, and his wife Mary, with their four daughters—Rosanna, afterwards married to James O'Neill, Rebecca, Mary, and Elizabeth, and two sons —George and William.†

John and "Rosy" (Rosanna) McBride, whose maiden-name was Carr, both of county Donegal, the former still living at the Hill, though at a very advanced age. On Sundays this venerable couple were wont to walk from their home near Fort Washington far up the Whitemarsh Valley to Germantown church for Mass; on Holy Communion days carrying with them a crust of bread in their pockets to eat on their way homeward a good nine miles distant.‡

John Monks, of county Wicklow, coachman to William Miller, on Thorpe's lane, with his wife Jane Newman, native of the same county, and children.

Then there were five Germans, two of them brother and sister, named Conrad and Cunegunda, who subsequently went to Pittsburg, (Pa.;) two sisters, Mary and Theresa, the latter on her marriage moving to Conshohocken, where she and her husband opened a bakery; and a good-natured, industrious, and able worker, known as "Big Mary."

Michael Curry, (or Currie,) parent of ten children, of county Clare, who at the age of twenty-four came to the Hill in October, 1853, and is one of the few survivors of

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* John Francis Meagher died March 22, 1891, aged fifty-nine years; Michael, August 31, 1890, aged fifty-eight; and Mary Jane, relict of —— Herron, December 28, 1897, aged sixty.

† After a residence at the Hill for some thirty years, Robert Henry removed to Philadelphia, where he died in November, 1887. He was one of St. Mary's first plate-collectors.

‡ John McBride, who in early life followed the sea for a living, was born in 1811; his wife, born in 1805, died February 22, 1898, aged ninety-three.

the pre-natal days of St. Mary's. His wife was a Bridget Maher, of county Limerick.*

John McFadden, of county Donegal, who afterwards married Margaret Mullin, gardener at Lawyer Robert McMurtrie's; his son Charles entered the priesthood in the order of Augustinians.†

Charles McFadden, brother of the above, for forty-one years successor of his brother's at McMurtrie's.‡

Henry McQuaid, or McQuade, of county Tyrone, (it is said,) gardener at Judge Longstreth's at "Valley Green", then at Lawyer McMurtrie's (before the McFaddens); his wife was Mary McCafferty; Arthur Martin, of county Cavan, employed as farm-hand by Owen Sheridan; Thomas Martin and wife Ellen McGinnis, both of county Cavan, who with his family lived many years in a house (now torn down) on the corner opposite the upper Academy gate;§ John Devine, of county Donegal; "Tim" Crowley, of Bandon in county Cork, and his wife Mary Hayes;‖ "Tom" Crotty, of county Waterford, and his wife Margaret Duffy, of county Kildare;¶ Charles Murphy, still living, of county Cavan, for many years resident with the Martins in their house opposite the upper academy gate; Owen Maginniss, whose name is wrongly spelled in some of the church registers "Maginess", of county Louth, with his wife Margaret Trainor, or Traynor; Michael Lamb, of county Louth, a farmhand, afterwards married to Kate

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* Many of the details relating to this old-time folk (of the early '50s) have been communicated to the chronicler by Michael Curry, resident at the Hill for nearly half a century.

† John McFadden died April 17, 1865, aged twenty-seven years.

‡ Charles McFadden died at the Hill, June 19, 1897.

§ Thomas Martin died on August 24, 1886, aged sixty-three years. When we come to speak of the Sisters, we shall have some grateful recollections of his spouse.

‖ Timothy Crowley died at Norristown, Pa., April 16, 1895; Mary in Philadelphia, February 9, 1898.

¶ In St. Mary's *Register* (p. 1) the marriage of Thomas and Margaret Crotty on February 3, 1856, has been entered wrongly as "number one," as will be found by reference to the foot of the same page, where is recorded the marriage of Daniel Curley and Bridget Flannery on the 29th of the preceding month, the first marriage in St. Mary's.

Lynch, of county Limerick;* Robert Morrissey, of county Kilkenny, for many years coachman for the sisters, and his brother Walter, coachman for Lawyer David Webster;† Michael Kinsella, of county Wexford, and his wife Catharine, of the same place, one of whose daughters, Mary, married James Ryan. The Kinsellas lived in the Wissahickon valley near Thomas' mill-road;‡ James Shea and his wife Alice Ryan, both of county Tipperary; Mary Lee, of county Waterford, niece of Rev. Thomas Lee, parish-priest in Ireland, afterwards married to Matthew Brannon, of county Cork; James Murphy, of county Donegal, (it is said;) James Ryan, of county Wexford, who afterwards married Mary Kinsella, and two of whose sons—John and Michael—became priests in the Augustinian order;§ Daniel Donovan, of county Cork, who with his wife Bridget Curry, of county Clare, residents at the Hill, Bridget in '51, Daniel a year later, lived on the county-line a little south of the Academy; Matthew Corcoran, of county Carlow, faithful coachman for very many years to the late Henry J. Williams, was plate-collector at St. Mary's until his death;‖ James O'Neill, of county Kilkenny, gardener for Lawyer John C. Bullitt, whose property adjoining the Academy was afterwards acquired by that institution; and his wife Rosanna Henry; Anthony Praeder, an old Portuguese, gardener for many years to Charles Taylor, who with his daughter Mary, one of St. Mary's first choristers, his second wife Catharine and her son James, all lived in the old, picturesque, vine-covered cottage, (now torn down,) near the

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* Michael Lamb died September 26, 1887, aged fifty-six years.

† Robert Morrissey died January 15, 1886, aged sixty-nine years. His wife was a native of county Limerick.

‡ Michael Kinsella died some time in the early '70s (if I am not mistaken); his wife on February 17, 1883, aged eighty-two.

§ James Ryan died at the Hill, April 24, 1887, aged sixty-one years; Mary at the same place, Saturday, January 6, 1900, aged sixty-two.

‖ Matthew Corcoran died April 13, 1887, aged seventy-four years. His wife was a native of county Tyrone.

entrance gate to the Taylor property. The Praeders used to go to Germantown for their church devotions.* Timothy Boyle, of county Donegal, known commonly by the sobriquet "Umbrella Timothy", from a singular and noticeable fancy of the man of never going abroad in fair weather or foul, without a huge old-fashioned blue umbrella—the inseparable accompaniment to his walks. "Umbrella Timothy" lived near Flourtown on the Bethlehem turnpike. At Marble Hall was another Boyle of the same Christian name, with his wife Rosanna, both from the same county (Donegal) as the former; Mrs. Weiss, or as usually known, "Old Mammy Weiss", an aged French woman, (from Alsace,) who lived on the pike on the south side of the Hill towards Cresheim; a very pious good soul; always at church; Thomas Monaghan, of county Louth, with his wife Julia Lamb;† Maurice Ratchford, whose name in the church-register at St. Mary's is wrongly spelled "Rashford", of county Tipperary, gardener at Charles Taylor's, and his wife Mary Barron, of county Kilkenny;‡ James Gannon, of county Galway, still living at Marble Hall, who some forty years ago, or more, married "Nellie" Kennedy, sister of "Tom"; Edward Dwyer, married to Bridget Kavenagh, with his two brothers—James and Garrett, all of county Carlow; Thomas Golden, of county Meath, who married Kate Scanlon, of the same county;§ Patrick Neville, of county Tipperary; Michael Rowe, his wife Anna Mahoney, and Thomas Dunn, of county Kilkenny; Andrew Long, of county Wicklow, and his wife Mary Shannon, of county

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* Anthony Praeder came to the Hill in 1851. His second wife—Catharine Hughes—was born May 22, 1798, in Dublin, Ireland, at No. 94 Pill Lane; in 1810, came to the United States, landing at Philadelphia on November 8, of the same year; and died August 8, 1887, aged eighty-nine years. Her son James Hughes, the same as his step-sister Mary, enrolled among the earliest singers at St. Mary's, died at Germantown, in June, 1889. He was a pensioner of the Civil War.

† Thomas Monaghan died Wednesday, August 7, 1895, aged sixty-five.

‡ Maurice Ratchford died at the Hill on Tuesday, December 12, 1893, aged eighty-three

§ Thomas Golden died February 21, 1890, aged eighty years.

Tyrone;* Christopher Shortwell, of county West-Meath, one of whose children—Mary—entered the Society of the Immaculate Heart;† Miles Daley, for years a resident of St. Augustine's parish, in Philadelphia, of county Tyrone, in Ireland, whence he migrated in 1831; whose farmland purchased some years after his death by Archbishop Ryan forms part of Holy Sepulchre cemetery;‡ Patrick Husher, of county Galway; Patrick O'Neill, of the same county, who afterwards married Anna Plunkett, of county West Meath;§ John Conway, of county Mayo; Robert Duffy, of county Kildare; "Tom" Doyle, of county Carlow; and "Charlie" Murphy, of county Cavan.

But earliest perhaps of these old-timers were the following four residents on the Hill in service with Owen Sheridan, a gentleman that will be referred to more fully anon. They were Frank Mullen, Catharine Morgan, Bridget Montague and Mary Boyne, (afterwards Sweigart,) now, an aged woman, whose reminiscences have been helpful to me here. Mrs. Sweigart has told me that she is a native of county Meath; in 1847, at the age of sixteen coming to this country engaged in work with the Sheridans, in whose employ she found the other three just named; that on Sundays she used to walk to St. Stephen's at Nicetown for Mass, though sometimes Mr. Sheridan would have her and her companions driven to Manayunk to church; and that at the former-named place she was married to John Sweigart, (now deceased.)‖ Her first child was carried all the

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* Mrs. Long died on May 14, 1883.

† Christopher Shortwell, born December 25, 1822, died at Chestnut Hill, February 25, 1893; while his wife Mary A. McCloud, was a native of Enniskillen in county Fermanagh.

‡ Mr. Daley died at his farm August 7, 1879, at the age of eighty years. By his first wife Mary Bradley he had two children; by his second Elizabeth Fisher, whom he married at St. Augustine's, on March 17, 1834, ten. In 1844, his farm-houses were burned down twice through odium (I have been told) not so much for his country, as the felon himself was an Irishman, as for his Faith.

§ Patrick O'Neill died at Marble Hall on Tuesday, August 1, 1899, aged sixty-three.

‖ John Sweigart was a Catholic of Wittenberg, Germany, who died at the Hill, August 20, 1897, aged seventy-five.

way on foot to St. Peter's church at Girard avenue and Fifth street in Philadelphia for baptism. Such were the Catholic residents on the Hill, or in its neighborhood, in the early '50's before St. Mary's church was built.*

To them, or some at least, for fate was not equally kind to all, was it given to witness with the eye of the flesh, what their spirit no doubt had for many a year been yearning,—the building of a temple to the true God, the glory of His Sanctuary in its outward and material shapeliness and beauty.

In early days before St. Mary's was opened the Faithful (we have named) attended some of them St. Vincent's at Germantown, whither as a rule used to go on foot, on horse, or in carriage or wagon, the residents on the Hill and along the Bethlehem pike as far as Fort Washington. These when ill were visited by Father Domenec, who brought them the sacramental comforts of religion. While the settlers around Barren Hill and Marble Hall were wont in fair weather, when the roads, mostly of dirt, allowed of clean travel, to go to Conshohocken for Mass; but, if bad, to Germantown. Michael Curry recalls the fact that he often walked to Nicetown church, while John Monks and his future wife Jane Newman used to walk to Norristown, and James Ryan to Nicetown, for the services of religion.

Doubtless,—it's no more than right to make this avowal of possible omissions in our list of early Catholics,—there were others than those named, albeit not many, (it is opined) that may have escaped our researches, or memory. In recording the honorableness of the workers one meets in the story of the world, we thus find that the muse of history naming all alike with impartiality on her pages makes

* In the foregoing pages the reader, besides encountering representatives of Portugal, Germany, Scotland, France, will have come across natives of twenty-one of the thirty-two counties of Ireland as follows: Antrim, Carlow, Cavan, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Fermanagh, Galway, Kildare, Kilkenny, Limerick, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Tipperary, Tyrone, Waterford, West Meath, Wexford, Wicklow.

whatever difference may be discerned in the glory and uprightness of their deeds one of degree rather than substance. Hence if in this sketch be found wanting the name of any pioneer of the Faith, any builder of the Temple of St. Mary's, let this omission (from our roll of honor) be set down to no wilful fault of the scribe, who in his searches for the primitive worshippers at the shrine of Our Lady, has spared neither pains, nor time, to have his list complete.*

So far we have set down the story of St. Mary's, before the actual organization of that mission, during the time when being without priest the people had neither sacrifice, nor altar, nor temple. What we here essay to tell is the story of the foundation of that mission, in 1855.

A year before—in 1854, shortly after the conversion of Joseph Middleton, the question of having a mission church of their own at the Hill with their own resident pastor began to be actively mooted among the few Catholics in the neighborhood, who found it not easy, in fact greatly inconvenient to go so far as Germantown, or Conshohocken, for Mass and the sacraments.

In furtherance of this scheme one morning sometime in the year '54, a visit was paid to Bishop Neumann, ordinary of Philadelphia, by Joseph Middleton, who as a self-appointed committee of one, sought thereby to learn from this prelate what chance, if any, the Faithful at the Hill had for a mission and priest among them. On his arrival at the bishop's residence (on Logan Square) a few minutes' conversation with him served to dispossess Mr. Middleton of whatever hopes he may have cherished of getting a church or a pastor.

But we anticipate. To his query then to this effect the bishop replying that

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* In Appendix C will be found the names of other Catholics at the Hill, members at least of St. Mary's, who may have been,—for the fact can now no longer be ascertained with any degree of positive certainty,—residents there before Our Lady's mission was founded.

"no new mission could be established by him at Chestnut Hill or elsewhere,"

added that while sympathizing with the Faithful in their spiritual distress, all he could promise, and would guarantee, was the following,—that

"on their building a church themselves,—something too they would have to accomplish without any material aid from him, besides securing the services of some missionary in good standing, who would enlist in their behalf, then on his part would he,—the bishop, accord to such missionary the requisite faculties of the diocese, for administering to the Faithful;"

and—herein the bishop was very careful to have his words plainly understood, that this was

"all the people at Chestnut Hill could expect from him."

Such in substance was the ultimatum (as it were) of Bishop Neumann, who in further explanation of his course on this vital point declared that

"not only was he himself without money to carry on his own established missions, but with no priest to spare for any new venture." *

So with this decision of the bishop fresh in mind, though (almost needless to say) with but little hope in heart of further success in the movement, and for the moment too utterly in the dark as to what step would be best next to take, Joseph Middleton took his way from the bishop's quarters on Logan Square. Thence slowly wending his way down town, where there was other business to settle, pon-

* The preceding colloquy (with Bishop Neumann) together with the following report of the discovery of a volunteer missionary for the Hill, and in fact the main details relating to the first stages of St. Mary's existence, nay, even the preparatory steps taken in founding that mission, have often been related to the writer himself by his father, whose memoranda besides have proved of much value in drawing up this part of the memoirs of St. Mary's. So much then for our evidence, which, albeit of private character, is none the less of contemporary origin.

dering the while both where and how he might cast about for a priest,—a missionary that with the required qualifications to win the bishop's sanction, would volunteer for service in the new field in God's vineyard at the Hill,—this was the chief burden of his thoughts. For it would be in vain, thus he argued to himself, as he has often said, for the people to build a church, and gather a flock with no one to lead. Undecided just what to do, quick as thought flashed an inspiration (as it were) in his mind, that may be at St. Augustine's in Fourth street,—the venture at least was worth taking,—one of the Fathers might be won over into enlisting for service in Our Lady's field.

Likely enough, though he never could manage to explain this almost unconscious guidance of his footsteps to St. Augustine's, the fact of one of his nephews—Joseph Cooke Longstreth—having been educated by the Augustinians at Villanova, may have had providentially something to do in guiding him thither.

With the Fathers on Fourth street Joseph Middleton had (at this time) no acquaintance whatever, nor except by fame did he know the name of but one of them—Dr. Moriarty, superior in chief at the time of the Augustinians in the United States.

A word or so on this clergyman, first resident Catholic priest at the Hill will not be out of place. Briefly, the very Reverend Dr. Patrick Eugene Moriarty, scholar, writer, author, and above all, orator of acknowledged power, was born in Dublin in Ireland, July 4, 1804; and died at Villanova College on Saturday, July 10, 1875, at the age of seventy-one.

After studying a year or so in the Augustinian convent at Callan, not far from Dublin, the youthful Patrick joining that order, was sent to Italy, where he completed his scholastic labors at the study-houses of the brotherhood at Lucca, Perugia and Rome, where he was ordained to the sacred

order of priesthood on January 28, 1828. Successively he labored in mission service in Ireland and France (in the latter country at St.-Julien by request of Cardinal Cheverus, formerly bishop of Boston, at the time archbishop of Bordeaux;) spent some time in Portugal; in 1834, volunteering for the East India missions, he was sent thither as secretary and vicar-general of Bishop O'Connor, of his order, commissioned therefore by Pope Gregory XVI. as his vicar-apostolic at Madras. While in India serving the bishop, Father Moriarty acted as chaplain to the British forces at the above named place; aided in establishing the *Madras Expositor;* thence returning to Italy was created doctor in divinity by the Supreme Pontiff (Pope Gregory as above) in reward for his Asiatic labors. Thence sent to the American missions of his order in the United States, the Doctor came to Philadelphia in 1839, where taking up his residence at the convent of his brotherhood on Crown (now North Lawrence) street, he began his career in the American field of missionary life, as defender of the Faith, by word and pen; as preacher, lecturer, visiting therefore the chief cities of the Union, where he delivered discourses noted especially for their classical genius in style, breadth of learning, and the well-recognized magnetic power of the speaker himself over his hearers.

After the riots of '44, though not an eye-witness himself of the havoc wrought by the church-burners of that era masquerading under the title of patriots,* he repaired to Europe, passing some years in his native country and England. Whence returning in 1850, to Philadelphia, he again settled down to hard work at his convent on Crown street, which with the church near-by had been rebuilt in his absence, by his successor in charge Rev. John P. O'Dwyer,

* At this time the Doctor was down south on a collection-tour for his church; and on Wednesday, May 8, date of the burning of St. Augustine's, he was at Charleston in South Carolina.

and on the death of this saintly ecclesiastic, (on Friday, May 24, 1850,) was again chosen chief of the missions.*

So mounting the steps of the Augustinian residence (on Crown street,) and asking—might he see the one in charge —Joseph Middleton was told that the superior was ill. But sending up his name with word that he had come on business of moment, he was forthwith led to the Doctor's chamber, where for the first time he met that venerable ecclesiastic, abed, crippled with pain from his old enemy—the gout, who, welcoming his visitor in his own peculiarly hearty way soon put the stranger at ease. On inquiring what had brought him thither, the Doctor was told briefly the story of his search for a missionary for Chestnut Hill, the part the people there would undertake towards founding a church, and Bishop Neumann's promise should they succeed in securing a priest.

Briefly, after due explanation of details, to the query— "would the Doctor himself take charge of the new mission at the Hill",—came the answer—"Yes, if the people will build the church"; whereupon just as quickly was made the promise—"Well, then we'll build the church." Thus in less than one day, during a few hours of a morning, was the sanction of the ordinary secured to found a mission at Chestnut Hill; and the leader of that mission enlisted.

Shortly after this interview with Dr. Moriarty, the bishop on being apprised of the course of events, expressed his approval thereof; and promised his concurrence in the future with the steps being projected towards founding that mission. So far then preliminaries had been conclusive, and satisfactory to the chief parties in interest. To have succeeded in enlisting the services of a missionary for the newly formed body of the Faithful at the Hill was itself of prime

* During the year preceding the date of our story—1853, Doctor Moriarty filled the chair of sacred eloquence at Villanova, though with residence at the Augustinian convent on Crown (now North Lawrence) Street, Philadelphia.

importance,—in fact step number one towards the foundation of the mission itself. Plans now were to be laid to get land for the mission-buildings—for church and presbytery, thus carrying out step number two, not the hardest by any means as events will disclose in the story of St. Mary's building, but the first move really that served to unmask the spirit of anti-Catholic bitterness against that shrine. For from beginning to end it was by but little else than sheer force that St. Mary's was brought into being. Trickery and menaces presided at its birth; while violence sought to stay every step in its growth.

Fully aware of this unfriendliness of the times to anything Catholic in spirit,—this as in '54,—the hey-day of "Know Nothingism",—the pagan doctrine that under the guise of patriotism sought the social and political ostracism of foreigners, of Catholics especially, even though native-born,—Joseph Middleton deemed it wise policy to keep to himself whatever project he had of establishing a Catholic Church at the Hill,—a somewhat risky problem at best that could be most safely solved, if at all, by utter secrecy on his part.*

Students of American history will recall the fact that only a couple of years before a wave of anti-religious, anti-Catholic, fury, reflex of the similarly frenzied movement of ten years earlier, sweeping over the Eastern States especially, culminated in wrecking Catholic church buildings, not unattended too with very gross maltreatment of Catholic priests, sisters, and laymen. The delegate apostolic Bedini himself on his way homeward to Italy from Brazil,

* This gentleman, himself a witness of the burning of St. Augustine's church in Fourth street, in '44, had been a member of the "Native American" party, predecessor of "Know Nothingism," at its birth a year or so earlier. But soon discerning the extremes of fanaticism, whither this peculiar form of political hysteria was driving that party, from being sympathizer with its programme,—this was long before he became Catholic,—he turned antagonist to the movement, not only severing his kinship with the "Native Americans," but taking up arms against their spread at the Hill. Apart from his early affiliation with this A. P. A. schism of the '40s, he had never been member of any secret society.

was mobbed in Cincinnati, and other places, in New York escaping murder only by the quiet, but very effective, precautions of the United States government to get him out of the country by stealth. While New England under the leadership of that arch-fanatic Orr,—the so-called "Archangel Gabriel", was the arena of other forms of destruction. In 1854, Catholic freemen and citizens were assaulted, and their church property ruined, among other places, in Boston, and Dorchester, in Massachusetts, at Bath in Maine, and Manchester in New Hampshire.*

Hence secrecy in any Romeward movement,—of itself the quasi-natural outcome of persecution, as history shows us, —was an all-important factor in this essay to build a Catholic church at Chestnut Hill.

For its size and the charming loveliness of its scenery, especially in the Wissahickon valley and the sharp-cut, tree-dotted gorges leading thereto, Chestnut Hill was just making itself known as one, if not the chief, of the most picturesque suburbs of Philadelphia, the railroad thither from Germantown having been opened in '54, thus giving easy access to and from town.† Yet in this most favored spot early in the second half of one of the most enlightened of centuries—the nineteenth—was developed (as will subsequently be shown) a spirit of *quasi* paganism in surprising degree,—of but slightly veiled bigotry and antagonism to the Church—far bitterer than could easily be surmised in so refined and very respectable a community. Chestnut Hill (it may be remarked) has never witnessed the development of any great commercial industry in its midst; it has no mills, no factories; is a restful, pleasant, settlement of resi-

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* For some interesting, though all too meagre, details of this iconoclastic movement against Catholic institutions see *The Metropolitan*, of Baltimore, for 1854, (ii. pp. 324, 450.)

† The "Chestnut Hill Railroad", so styled in the *Germantown Telegraph*, (of Wednesday, July 16, 1851,) was projected to run from Germantown to Chestnut Hill, Whitemarsh, Doylestown, thence to Easton, with right of way to Delaware Water Gap and farther.

dents, engaged in little else than living quietly on their treasured means.

On Joseph Middleton's conversion to the Catholic Faith, besides the penalties heaped upon him of religious and social ban (referred to ahead) attempts were made more than once to do him physical violence. One dark night, (the writer recalls the incident, as the family forewarned of their danger were fully on the alert,) the would-be incendiaries—a gang of some half-dozen ne'er-do-wells from the Hill—had come down with purpose to set fire to his property, his farm-buildings—barn and sheds—at "Monticello,"—as far as the former old wooden-covered bridge across the creek,* where unexpectedly in the darkness being halted by the challenge of their intended victim, who forthwith accosting each miscreant by name, disclosed to them to their utter amazement his knowledge of their felonious intent,—a revelation too that was strengthened by his not undeserved reputation for fearlessness, made them, albeit not without much reviling and other display of savageness, forego at least for the time being all further thought of their dastardly plan.†

To this may be added another fact,—one the writer is happy to state,—that herein as well as on many other occasions throughout the troublous times associated with the building of our Lady's shrine, Joseph Middleton was befriended by some of his non-Catholic neighbors and acquaintances, who in their honesty of soul abhorring persecution for conscience' sake, managed, though not always without personal discomfort, to keep him fully enlightened as to the plottings of his ill-wishers, among whom were members of the Masonic "lodges" at the Hill and near by.‡ In

* This bridge, torn down some time about 1874, was replaced by the open iron structure now spanning the Wissahickon on the academy grounds.

† In 1898 this barn was torn down by the sisters of St. Joseph, in order to widen the highway in front of their academy path, as well as to improve the looks of their property.

‡ From Hotchkin's (in work cited before, p. 415) I learn that "Hiram Lodge" of Masons at Chestnut Hill was founded in 1800.

conclave assembled these societies, which were imbued more or less strongly with Know Nothing spirit, had more than once resolved (of course very stoutly) that on Chestnut Hill no Catholic church should ever be built,—a proscription of both civil and religious liberty, which they ever were fond of vaunting as the very basis of their principles of association.

But we are digressing. To return to the project of securing a church-site at the Hill. In his planning to get ground for Our Lady's mission, no one (as said) was taken into confidence by Joseph Middleton. No meeting was ever held by the Catholics in the neighborhood; we wish to emphasize this very strongly; in fact there were no associations of the Faithful, no committees for raising money, nor for any other purpose having religion in view.

Instead being aware of the strong anti-Catholic feeling rife in the community, Joseph Middleton gave it out widely that desirous of giving up "Monticello", he purposed to make his residence on the Hill, whither in fact he actually transferred his family some four or five years later, not quite so soon however as was surmised at the time. By such strategy was accomplished the very point he was aiming at —the purchase of a church-site.

Thus suspicions being lulled, the church-lot was bought —a choice piece of land on the fair crest of the Hill on Chestnut avenue, (which for a time bore the name of the Leni-Lenape chief Tedyuscung,) opened a few months before from the Germantown and Perkiomen pike (now known as Main street) to the Bethlehem road,* the property of Samuel H. Austin, a Philadelphia lawyer, and his wife Annie L.

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* In an old title-deed of land (in St. Mary's archives) I have found what there is given as the early name of that colonial highway to Bethlehem and the north, namely, the "Chestnut Hill and Spring House Turnpike Road originally called North Wales Great Road."

This lot beginning two hundred feet from the north side of Perkiomen pike and measuring one hundred and fifty feet on Chestnut avenue (and the same in depth) was purchased for $2,500 from Mr. Austin presumably for the erection thereon of a dwelling-house for the buyer, but in reality, though of course there is no explicit mention of it in the deed, in secret trust for the Augustinian order.

From various papers in the archives of St. Mary's, among them an "abstract of title" to the land on which the church and presbytery of Our Lady are built, I find that the earliest proprietor of all the land around (subsequent of course to the cession of it by the Indians to William Penn,) was one Dirck Sipman, a Mennonite of Crefeldt, to whom "in 1689 on the third day of the second month" Penn, (through Daniel Pastorius, founder of Germantown,) made a grant of five hundred and eighty-eight acres of land "in Germantown township", part of the tract of fifty-seven hundred acres allotted to Pastorius.

After Dirck Sipman, the proprietorship of this land, or of so much of it as belongs to St. Mary's, was vested successively in some thirty persons before it passed into the trust of the Augustinian brotherhood.

Here the reader, if he has no liking for what may seem dry and tiresome archæological details, can skip the next page or so, as therein will be given the names of those primeval possessors of St. Mary's church lot.

In 1742, I find that John Ashmead left his part of the Sipman estate to his children and grandchildren, from whom it passed to Christopher Yeakle, and John Rex, and on the decease of the latter-named to his widow Margaret Rex, and her children Abraham, George, Samuel V. and Mary Ann Rex, who, in 1828, sold their part to Christopher Yeakle. In 1839, Yeakle made over his title to the land to John R. Neff, who in 1853 sold to Samuel H. Austin that piece of land on the "proposed new Street to be called

Chestnut Avenue", whereon Our Lady's church is built. On October 15, 1853, one of these lots was conveyed to Samuel H. Austin, who in turn sold to Joseph Middleton that piece of it (as just related) now in charge of Our Lady of Consolation. In the title-deed given by Mr. Neff to Mr. Austin this lot is described as being on

"the north side of the proposed new street to be called Chestnut avenue . . . . to be fifty feet wide . . . . to run from Perkiomen Turnpike road to the Chestnut Hill and Spring House Turnpike Road . . . laid out by the said John R. Neff and intended to be left open forever." *

On the land thus purchased by Joseph Middleton (ostensibly for his own private use) were built the church and presbytery of Our Lady. The ground was subject to a yearly rent of $150 payable (in equal portions) every 1st of January and 1st of July. On June 19, 1862, the property, which up to this had been standing in the name of Joseph Middleton and his wife, was made over by them to the Augustinian order. And on October 14, 1875, twenty years after the church was built, by Father McEvoy, rector at the time of St. Mary's, this ground-rent was extinguished by his payment to Daniel Yeakle of $2,500, raised by special collection among the people.†

But albeit much vexation attended this purchase of land for the temple, the battle of rearing the House of God had yet in reality only begun. As it was even after the sale of the lot had been agreed upon, though title thereto had not yet been given, Lawyer Austin was pleaded with again and again, even urged, to break his bargain with Joseph Middleton, threatened too with harm to himself and family, on his failure to annul the contract. But people little knew

* Elsewhere in our paper will be encountered the honorable names of Messrs. Neff and Austin.

† The school-house lot, adjoining the church on the north, was not acquired until some twenty-three years later.

"Sam" Austin,—such was the not uncommon appellative given to that gentleman,—who thought him capable of breaking his word. To his honor be it said, his invariable reply to his unrighteous-minded counsellors was

"No, he'd break no contract. Though not much of any religious cast of mind, nor even a bit in love with Catholics, he'd see them have fair play; and as he'd bargained with Joseph Middleton to convey him the lot, Joseph Middleton should have the lot." *

This episode took place after the lines of the building had been drawn, when it was noised about that thereon was to be raised a Catholic place of worship.†

With the purchase of the land and the purpose wherefore it was destined proclaimed, now began a fresh struggle long and bitter between the friends and enemies of Christian law and order,—a kind of warfare secret as well as open, subtle and never ceasing, that albeit winding up at its worst only in hard words,—in curses, blasphemies, aimed even yet at violence—at incendiarism, besides countless other acts of petty spite and trouble. Some of the fiercest anti-Catholic spirits of the neighborhood, while avowing freely that so far they hadn't been able to bar Catholics from buying land for their church, yet with much unseemly language threatened again and again

"they'd see that no Catholic church should ever be built at the Hill,"—

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* Through our regard for the memory of this valiant upholder of his pledge, as well as not to shock perhaps the sensibilities of our readers, we have while otherwise giving Mr. Austin's words as he spoke them, left out the numerous forceful expletives, wherewith he interlarded his speech. (Mr. Austin had a peculiarly emphatic way of speaking his mind.)

† As a matter of fact the building of St. Mary's was begun months before the land had been conveyed by Mr. Austin to Joseph Middleton, the title-deed having been executed only a little more than a week before the laying of the corner-stone. Here are the exact dates of these several events: in January of '55, the building of the church was begun; on the 1st of the following June the title of the land was given by Mr. Austin; and nine days later—on June 10, the corner-stone of St. Mary's was set in place.

Let this be put on record in our admiration of the inflexibility of the honest-hearted Austin.

truly a dastardly threat; but when did bigotry ever breed kindliness of heart?

What devious underhanded scheme these noisy aggressors of religious liberty may have had in view for carrying out their ungodly purpose need not here be guessed at. Prominent among these antagonists of Our Lady's shrine were Andrew and John Graver, butchers, (after whose family was named the railroad station near the Hill,) Israel Dickinson, wheelwright, Christopher Hart, stone-mason, William Bickens, carpenter, and finally one, whose rank should have kept him in better business and company, John W. Hildeburn, son of Samuel, a highly respectable old gentleman resident on the west slope of the Hill.* But with the aid of Divine Providence, who had decreed that on this lot—one of the choicest in Philadelphia's most lovely suburb—should be reared a temple to the Holy Mother of Our Lord, all earthly barriers were in time completely surmounted. Yet for the while there was trouble enough for His servants.

Building materials for the church,—all except water, were comparatively easy to get. Stone was brought chiefly from the quarries of Joseph Middleton on the Wissahickon, where were cut and dressed all the granite sills and trimmings for the church and presbytery; lime was hauled from the kilns "up country" towards Plymouth; while sand was taken from the excavations themselves for the buildings.

Water alone was badly needed. Near by the church there was only one resident willing to let water be drawn from his property; all the others in their hardness of heart refusing the use of their wells. This benevolent gentleman, a worthy compeer in his way of the sturdy-hearted Austin, was John R. Neff, living near by the church, a man of

* It may be that the persons named above looked on their anti-Catholic ways as praiseworthy, even Christian. Wherefore we record this matter of fact—one of the many incidents associated with the genesis of St. Mary's.

wealth and refinement, who, offering Joseph Middleton all the water he needed for the building, bid him welcome, and said "he might run his pump dry", that as far as he was concerned, "Catholics should have fair play". When, as more than once was the case, Mr. Neff's well did give out, the builders of the church had to go about a half-mile down the highway formerly Norwood avenue (now Sullivan street,) to a spring in the woods back of Taylor's,—a tedious, costly, round-about, yet necessary, pilgrimage.

During building operations, more or less every day, was wont to gather a band of church-scoffers, a lot of idlers from around the Hill; their meeting-place the shade of a venerable, large old oak, now torn down, just opposite the church across the highway.*

Here from morning to night (at times) with nothing better to do than vent their puny rage in maledictions against God's Faith, against Catholics, against the sacraments of their Church, the Blessed Virgin, the Supreme Pontiff, etc., varying their ungodly litany with threats that "St. Mary's should never be built", the while watching with unfriendly eye the gradual growth of the building they were unable to stay, though doing their best to intimidate the workmen thereon.

But St. Mary's was being reared better than they dreamed. As a bar to the malisons of these evil wishers of the church, —that "they'd burn it",—their constant augury during the construction of the building, nay, even before a stone had been laid in the trenches,—two steps had been taken by Joseph Middleton to guard the temple from harm,—one his picking out for master-mechanics (to work on the church) only such as were non-Catholics, of whom some at least were Masons besides. These were Job Ridgeway, of Quaker stock, chief carpenter, a clever artisan; Levi

* In the picture of St. Mary's accompanying this sketch is given a view of this historical oak.

Cope, stone-mason; George Weiss, painter; Richard P. Cummings, tinner,—all sociable, pleasant-mannered men.*

The main reason for this policy of enrolling as builders of the temple the very enemies thereof,—was embodied in a clause in their contract,—that (substantially) read as follows, that "if the church was not completed, the mechanics would get no wages,"—except—as in reality was carried out,—a portion only that was paid every Saturday night. Thus through self-interest the contractors saw to it that the building was guarded from injury—from fire especially—at the hands of their fellows.†

The writer (of these lines), though at the time almost too young to discern the full significance of his father's haste, remembers the day well the church-roof was nearing completion,—a bright, beautiful, sunny morning, fitting time for the crowning of such labor. Near by under the old oak, where it had been standing since early morn was his father's team of fast horses ready for travel. And at the very moment almost that saw the last shingle nailed to the roof,‡ his father, who all through the building proceedings had usually been on hand from morning to night to superintend the work, leaping into his carriage hastened to Germantown, where without delay he had insurance laid on St. Mary's to the full amount of its value. Thence returning to the Hill—field of this anti-Catholic campaign, where (as might have been expected) he found gathered as usual "the mockers of the temple", displaying the "policy" he had just received, (—the rapidity wherewith it had been

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* In the fall of '55, Francis Falls, an old parishioner of St. Augustine's, Philadelphia, set up the furnaces and heaters in the church; and later in the presbytery.

† From the account-books (in St. Mary's archives) I find that on April 10, 1861, Job Ridgeway, the carpenter, was paid "in full of work on church" $30. (Page 47.)

‡ At first it had been contemplated to roof St. Mary's with slate, a material however easy to wreck with bullets,—a medium not unknown to our un-Christian iconoclasts. Wherefore the church-builder warned of the likelihood of this danger adopted wood instead for the roof.

Some twenty-six years afterwards (in 1881), when with the wane of passions the times had grown peaceful, Rector McEvoy had the old shingle roof covered with slate.

obtained seeming for the moment to stun them,) and waving it towards the ungodly crowd in defiance, he bade them "now if they dared take the risk to burn down St. Mary's", —a vandalism, that albeit in a measure dreaded, was (needless almost to say) never done.*

But with this digression on the building of St. Mary's, we return to the beginning of the mission. In 1854, as said, the church was projected, the ordinary's consent thereto obtained, and measures concerted by Joseph Middleton and Doctor Moriarty wherewith the money needed for the venture should be gathered.

In the early part of the following year—1855, the church-building was actually started; on February 24, (so reads the record,) the first payment—$170—on account of stone having been made.†

During the spring (of '55) excavations were made for the church cellar; and preparations got under way for the solemnity of the corner-stone laying. During the winter of 1854-1855 the plans for the church and presbytery, though this latter-named structure was not put up till the following year, when the church had already been opened for divine services, were drawn by Joseph Middleton himself.‡ Oftentimes he has told the writer that in his work

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* As a precautionary measure against incendiarism, every evening after the mechanics had left off work, would be carefully gathered up all rubbish of inflammable character—chips, shavings, bits of wood, etc.,—accumulations during the day, and these burned forthwith. (Frequently in the building-period of St. Mary's has the writer seen this care taken against arson.) Then after setting around in different parts of the building tubs or barrels of water ready for service, the night-watchmen—usually two—went on guard till work-hour next morning, Joseph Middleton himself being one of them, and, (unless the writer be at fault in his memory,) James Ryan the other.

† Lying before the writer is a *Memorandum Book*, (now belonging to St. Mary's archives,) that was kept by his father while engaged in the construction of that church and presbytery. In it the reader will find set down duly, albeit not always with full details, various items connected with the building, as dates of payment, collections for the church, names of donors, etc.

These memoranda—all original records of '55, together with divers other church papers relating to that primal epoch, have been used in filling in this sketch of St. Mary's buildings.

‡ Though neither architect, nor builder by profession, Joseph Middleton, educated at the Friends' School at Westtown, (in Chester county, Pa.,) had been trained in the art of

of planning and erecting St. Mary's church and presbytery, with no other aid than that of nature and grace, he alone was designer and builder of both structures, the "specifications" of St. Mary's calling for a church-building of stone, in plain Gothic style, with little other adornment save its bare form, to be ninety feet long, fifty wide, with a tower nineteen feet square at the base and sixty-eight high.*

Along either side of the church was space enough for a carriage-drive to the horse-shelter at the rear, where were four sheds owned by Joseph Middleton, his sister-in-law, (widow of Judge Longstreth,) John Devereux, and—unless the name of the fourth has been missed—Miles Daley.

The above figures give the nave-dimensions of St. Mary's as it stands to day. In 1881, Rector McEvoy added a transept; while, in 1885, his successor, Father McShane, had a spire put on the tower.

In the old church, (prior to the addition of '81,) the two rear angles, or corners, of the nave on either side

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building under the instruction of his elder brother Enoch, to whom his junior had been apprenticed. But not fancying that business, and therefore casting about for a home away from town, he bought himself the farm (as elsewhere told) where he designed and built his house "Monticello." Subsequently (in '59), he entered into the business (in Philadelphia) of "manufacturing, rectifying, importing and selling liquors," with John Boyle, of Philadelphia, John Devereux, Sr., and Patrick Boyle, of Montgomery county, under the firm name of "Joseph Middleton & Co.," a partnership however that was dissolved through reverses in 1866.

* These are the outside measurements of St. Mary's prior to its enlargement in 1881. Inside the dimensions were eighty-five feet in length, and forty-five in width.

Up to a few years ago (we may observe) the south walls of St. Mary's church and tower were mantled with a rich thick growth of vines—ivy and creeper, which besides being the Creator's own chosen symbols of Divine Life, marking therefore by their freshness and variety of tints the wealth of intellectual benisons to be won at His Mother's shrine, were of comfort too to the spirit of the believer, which besides finding relief therein to the material eye of the body from the cold, dull, harsh black and grey of the structure, is reminded of the glory that crowns the work of the worshipper of God when adorned with the graces of His Deity.

In the fall of '96, one of St. Mary's church-wardens, somewhat unmindful (it would seem) of the kindly preservative character of the vegetable world, whereby for ages even many of the most venerable monuments of Christian and pagan art-genius have been sheltered from ruin and decay, had this charming veil of St. Mary's sanctuary, wherein so many years had been spent in the weaving, torn away from the walls of Her shrine with naught else as result left to the eye than the bare, cheerless, even chilling, and meaningless, work of man.

Four years later however, (in 1900,) ivy again begins to clothe Our Lady's home.

of the sanctuary, (the place where are hung the two oil-paintings,) were curtained off with red muslin as vesting-rooms for the clergy and altar-boys, and in busy seasons as confessionals. The furnishings of the church were poor, but so (be it said) were the people, if not in spirit, in pocket.

The dimensions of the presbytery and its kitchen (another building at the rear), reached later through a covered way from the house, were thirty-five feet by twenty-two for the former, and eighteen by sixteen for the latter. In 1881, under Father McEvoy this gap between the two buildings was filled in at an outlay of $2800 with a stone structure uniform in appearance with the presbytery.

So far we have dwelt merely on the steps preparatory to the building of St. Mary's. Now to the laying of the corner-stone in 1855. By June of this year, progress enough having been made in the building to warrant the first dedicatory services of the new temple, preparation was begun for this event, the foundation-walls being set, and flooring-joists in place. But as not unrarely happens in works guided even by the hand of Divine Wisdom, at the very point too, where one's labor seems surest crowned with triumph, up looms something untoward,—some barrier, or other, in the way, that in character apparently hostile, through some mysterious design of the All-Powerful, threatens the whole mass of our work with defeat.

Thus happened it at Chestnut Hill in '55. In explanation of this phenomenon against the peace of mind of the Faithful, that (it seems) should have deterred them from laying the corner-stone of St. Mary's, let the reader ponder over the following account. When the initial steps towards rearing a Catholic mission-church at the Hill had been taken, the antagonists thereof (as may be expected,) did not stand idly by content merely with a show of unfriendliness for the scheme. Without the slightest regard for their

unoffending neighbors, in mockery too for the resident Catholics of the Hill, they vaunted very loudly their purpose to prevent any corner-stone being laid. That (as they avowed) having been checkmated at the outset in the secret purchase of the land for a church, and thwarted too in their failure to have that bargain undone, "still,"—here was their second threat,—

"they'd see to it that at least the festival of the corner-stone laying itself should not come off."

They had given their word that in default of their being able to bar this sacred rite, yet the day itself should be shorn of its glory,—of the exultation and triumph of the Catholic multitudes.

Among other drawbacks to the joy of the Faithful, who were looking hopefully, even wistfully, for the day of their jubilee, it had been devised, it seems, by these enemies of Mother Church, that no extra trains should be run that day to the Hill,—the corner-stone of St. Mary's was to be laid on Sunday,—moreover that what Catholics,—there were not many of them in the neighborhood,—might attend, would thus the few of them be as of old at the sport of the rabble. For although this piece of mischief set on their unholy programme was (as natural) not proclaimed far and near, yet was it fairly well understood by a few Catholics, among them the father himself of the writer, that during the ceremonies at the church-site, a disturbance was to be raised—signal for the church-ritual to be interrupted, when the corner-stone (so it was planned) would be carried off, maybe destroyed, and the Cross again trampled under foot. Or, in fewer words the spirit of iconoclasm, that had done so much ruin in Philadelphia in '44, was to be invoked against the peace of the commonwealth at Chestnut Hill in '55. Such at least was the scheme meditated by these evil-wishers of St. Mary's.

Such of our readers as are versed in American antiquarianism will recall to mind a fact associated with the building of the Washington Monument at the Capital of our country, that showed just one year earlier the destructive policy of the anti-Catholic party in the United States. In 1854, a stone of simple granite with appropriate inscription in intaglio, "1854 Rome to America"—had been sent by His Holiness—Pope Pius IX—to be set in that monument as testimonial of his regard for the Father of our country.

The Know Nothing party that had just been organized asserted that "this was the first step of the pope towards obtaining a foothold in America." The "Pope's Stone" thence became a question of almost national importance. Curiously enough a few months later the stone was stolen from the workshop of the masons engaged in erecting the monument; nor has it been recovered. History credits the Know Nothing party with the theft of that stone. It is supposed that it was carried to the Potomac and sunk therein.

So easily had men forgotten that other fact that in 1815, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore, warm friend of Washington, had been invited by the managers in charge of the Washington Monument to officiate at the laying of the corner-stone of that testimonial in honor of the great Liberator.

Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States,* an utterly unprejudiced authority, should be consulted in order to discern the unfairness of the Know Nothing Party, which therein (from a vast number of documentary evidences of the time) is declared to have "sinned against the spirit of the constitution, against the spirit of the people." (See especially pages 103, 104, in volume five.)

This bit of "inside history" of the plotters against St. Mary's to thereby deter the Faithful from the maintenance of their religious and civil liberties, was often told the writer

by his father, who even after baptism continued to number among his well-wishers not a few honest-minded non-Catholics, some of them "Masons," who, through (who knows what motives?) maybe old-time acquaintance, maybe too regard for his resoluteness,—Joseph Middleton had some reputation for "pluckiness,"—secretly kept him informed as to the various "orders of the day," issued by the secret foes of St. Mary's. And (as may be surmised) such kindly warnings weren't apt to go unheeded.*

In due season not long before the day set for the festival at the Hill, in the various churches in town and its suburbs, as Germantown, Manayunk and other near-by places, notice of the laying of the corner-stone at the Hill was given from the altars to the Faithful assembled therein. Thus in St. Philip Neri's at Southwark, Father Cantwell, (so the *Catholic Herald* tells us,) announced to his hearers that

"on that day week the corner-stone of the new church at Chestnut Hill would be laid. That some of the inhabitants of that locality had declared that they would not permit such an occurrence to take place, and that the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty was resolved to test the sincerity of their statement by himself laying the foundation-stone of a new Augustinian church." †

In Philadelphia, (then not nearly so large as now,) Catholics were beginning to band themselves together for self-defence, whereof the need had been displayed in so lamentable a manner in '44. Besides Doctor Moriarty—prospective rector of the new mission, who (as may be expected) harbored what was to be a life-long remembrance

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* The scribe remembers seeing, on one occasion at least, a short time before the corner-stone laying (at St. Mary's), small triangular bits of paper (in red, white, and blue colors) pinned on trees along the roads leading churchward, which he was told at the time by his father were "calls" for assembly issued by "secret societies" near by that were striving to prevent the building of that church.

† From an editorial in the *Catholic Herald*, of Philadelphia (for June 7, 1855), which also takes occasion to notify those who were desirous of going to the Hill, that "by application to the pastoral residence of St. Augustine's, they might purchase tickets for 25 cents. The ceremonies (it says) would begin at 4½ o'clock."

of the destruction of St. Augustine's in that year, with other clergymen of the city, was deeply concerned in the venture, and set on having it succeed. Another well-wisher of the scheme—Father Patrick Sheridan of St. Paul's, in announcing the proposed festival at the Hill, alluded (as had Father Cantwell) to the expected, not to say dreaded, opposition to the laying of the corner-stone of St. Mary's on the part of enemies of the Faith.

In town among the various societies, or brotherhoods, urged to attend this gathering of the Faithful in their corporate strength, were those well-nigh invincible bands of warriors, as we might style them, known as "Moyamensing boys", or "Moyas" for short, "Hibernias", "Vigilants", and other stout-hearted fighters, many of them Catholics,* who, though not always perhaps strictly edifying in their conduct,—in a measure they were politicians of the "old school",—of muscular rather than intellectual cast,—could yet be trusted to stand up for their rights. (Moreover in time of war, as our story-books tell us, men aren't apt to scrutinize very closely the ethical characteristics of their allies. It's enough they can fight.) These "boys" then invited to the Hill,—and a right valiant crowd they were, —smarting many at least of them at the memory of the wrongs done their Faith and religion within the past ten years; maddened too in a degree at the newly fledged spirit of "Native Americanism" now exultant even jubilant in Philadelphia under Mayor Conrad its leader; moved besides by a kind of chivalric feeling in defence of the Doctor, whose eloquence from pulpit and rostrum had for years been charming (as it were) the savageness in their breasts,—these Philadelphia crusaders every man of them

* The proportion of Catholics in the membership of the principal fire companies in Philadelphia during the early '50s was (I have been informed) as follows: *Moyamensing Fire Company*, four-fifths; *Diligent Fire Company*, very many; *Hibernia Hose Company*, nearly all; *Vigilant Engine Company*, a large majority; *Northern Liberties Engine Company*, only a few.

stout fighter formed a twin resolve:—that they too would go to the Hill on the day of the laying of the corner-stone of St. Mary's; and furthermore that (so far as they were concerned) the festival should be crowned with success. On this their minds were stoutly set. And right manfully too did the "boys" keep their word.

Little indeed did people at the Hill dream on that day, when instead of some mere dozens or maybe hundreds of Catholics,—all that were expected at the celebration on that glorious sunny afternoon,—there would be thousands of men in that peaceful-looking gathering around St. Mary's hemming in as a body-guard the chief actors in the initial dedicatory services at that shrine, very many of them armed ready at the first signal of hostility against their Church to back up their Faith and civil freedom with deeds.*

No, it was settled that on this feast-day at St. Mary's there was to be no damper on the joy of the people, no persecution as in '44, when in Philadelphia many were slain, the memory whereof barely ten years old was still fresh in the minds of men at the Hill.

But, (—how easy 'tis to wander away from one's train of thought!—) we again find ourselves in a measure anticipating the opening scenes in that church drama, which (in all thankfulness to Divine Mercy, be it said,) turned not into tragedy, as had been feared, but the rather into comedy, if so one might judge from the air of disappointment, of the deepest chagrin, that clouded the brows of the would-be marplots of the day's joyousness, when in something like serried ranks, with society-banners and music moving onward towards the site of the new church, they descried to their manifest consternation streaming from the trains

* This guard against any repetition of the mob-violence of '44 was taken by the "boys" at the urgence among others of Joseph Middleton, who has often told the writer that he himself, when inviting them to be present on the field, requested them to be "ready," as he said, "for the worst." (And the "boys" knew well what he meant.)

(at the railroad depot on the Bethlehem pike) not mere tens, or hundreds at the most, as they had been given to expect, but multitudes of able-bodied, fearless-faced men. Yes, such a checkmating to their carefully laid plans, betrayed too by their looks of defeated rage and disgust, was comical enough to the beholders, to them especially, who behind the scenes were aware of the manifold precautions taken long ahead to thwart any work of the enemy.

But there were other quandaries to be disentangled before success could be enjoyed by the organizers of the festival at St. Mary's,—one of them the antagonism to the scheme on the part of the railroad company itself,—a body of business men it is true, who albeit in their corporate capacity were (as the saying runs) "without souls," in their individual views were professedly anti-Catholic, therefore unreasoning.

Some time before the festival-day itself,—it should here be premised,—a twofold notice had been duly given the officers of the road in town,—the main-station whereof was at Ninth and Green,—of the proposed exodus of the Faithful on Sunday, June 10, and the need of cars enough in readiness for the excursionists.

So far so good, every precaution, it seems, having been taken to provide for the outing. But the chiefs, or at least the manager of the road, allied by sympathy, if not too by covert bond, with the Hill-plotters first made much ado at the demand (on their company) for extra labor on the Sabbath Day. On this occasion might have been witnessed a markedly singular phenomenon,—the railroad magnates somewhat suddenly all having become, it appears, religious-minded men, averse (it would seem) in their deeply pious hearts, for the very suggestion of extra trains on Sunday made them shudder, at the desecration (they said) would ensue from St. Mary's excursion.

At first the company refused outright to have any other

trains than were called for by schedule;* then when cornered with the unavoidable necessity of the occasion, pleading want of cars, they boldly professed not to know where to get others.

Such was the burden of the company's plaint, in their answers given curtly and in somewhat lofty tone to Joseph Middleton, who moreover was very stoutly bid to bear in mind that this decision of theirs was final, that "there should positively be no other trains than the regular ones next Sunday." Unless my recollection be at fault this colloquy was held on Saturday, vigil of the feast, when calling on the superintendent of the railroad Joseph Middleton made inquiry as to what provision had been made for the morrow's outrush from town. Quickly observing what indeed the company seemed to take no pains to disguise,—their set purpose to do what they could to mar the day's celebration, just as quickly he bid them be warned that on the morrow at their station would gather not a mere handful, as it were, of excursionists, but thousands. Furthermore giving them an inkling of what sort of muscular Christians they might expect to have at their doors, he intimated (merely as by afterthought) that through any failure of the company to have suitable accommodations for travel their expectant patrons in no mood to stand any shilly-shallying on the part of the railroad, would very likely by wrecking their station-buildings (at Ninth and Green) leave them unhoused by Monday. With this final warning ringing in their ears, and himself pondering deeply and anxiously (as may easily be imagined) over what might be the result of any trickery on the part of the company, Joseph Middleton wended his way homeward.

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* From reference to the *Germantown Telegraph* (for this season of the year) I find the schedule-time of Sunday trains to be as follows:

"Chestnut Hill Railroad, trains leave Philadelphia on Sundays at 9½ A.M. 2, 5½ P.M.
"Leave Chestnut Hill at 8–10 A.M. 12–40, 4, 6½ P.M."

Before now, we may observe, more than once it has happened,—so at least we read in the story of human passions, that the biases of men—social, political, even religious, have been turned—moulded even—by consideration of their purely economic rather than ethical interests. One's principles—moral ones at that,—a fact we cannot gainsay,—have often been known to yield to love of lucre. So too with this company, which "wise in its generation", though no one at the time even dreamed of such conversion of heart, had been brought to terms.

Accordingly on this very same Saturday, (June 9, vigil of the feast,) there was little sleep at Ninth and Green; instead, much scurrying (I've heard) on the part of the officials of the road hither and thither through town even in the early hours of the next day in search for cars. Thus the Chestnut Hill railroad company with their bigotry masked by fear had yielded through dread of financial disaster. And well too for them that (as on other occasions of far greater moment in story) Mammon had utterly overthrown at least for the nonce the Spirit of Intolerance.

Early then in the afternoon of this memorable Sunday, as had been foretold, from all parts of town, in numbers ever increasing, began to gather around the railroad station bands of excursionists for the Hill—men and women, —in close siege of the ticket-office, who without any even the slightest pretence of secrecy as to their intended destination, with perhaps even a somewhat unkindly tinge of exultation in tone, let it be clearly known to the officers in charge that they were come to Ninth and Green to go to Chestnut Hill, by train that very afternoon,—a trip too (that no one would be wise to misunderstand) they meant to take without bar or hinderance.

And go to Chestnut Hill as they had set their minds on doing these excursionists did, yet not without some discomfort, through no fault however it appears of the com-

pany. At the station (at Ninth and Green) the mass of the multitude on hand to be borne to the Hill was beyond every calculation greater by far than had been dreamed even by the most sanguine and enthusiastic promoters of the day's outing.

On reflection,—this observation seems pertinent,—the means employed to bring the railroad company to terms—veiled duress—may perhaps be adjudged as barely within the lines of strict ethical uprightness. Trickery of a certain kind had been employed to match trickery; schemes met by counter-schemes. But in all fairness this much must be granted to the managers of St. Mary's campaign, —a point to be kept closely in mind—by the reader,—that all through these preliminary skirmishes around the church for weeks, nay, even months at a time, this question—how to build that church—had been as much a game of politics as of finance,—a war of wits besides between the two rival camps of friends and foes of civil and religious freedom, which providentially however ended in naught more serious than wordy abuse and threats. One thing at least was manifest among the members of the Church Militant in Philadelphia in 1855,—that they were not going to belie their title. The writer at the time a school-lad at Villanova was himself at the railroad station at Ninth and Green on that fateful Sunday afternoon—June 10, a witness of the immense, unwieldy crowd, that surging inside and out the buildings thronged the streets near-by. Accompanied by the late Augustinian Father Louis M. Edge, mathematics professor at Villanova, the two travellers had driven from College to town, with the purpose of thence making their way by train to the Hill. When near Ninth and Green they found their road to the cars blocked by a mass of humanity that filled the streets as well as the station itself. But Professor Edge though thin and frail in appearance was yet strong of muscle and heart, while the lad was wiry

though slim. So in wedge-like file with the Professor ahead the two prospective pilgrims cleaving their way through the mass, managed to reach their train—one of several sent out that day to the Hill. But when on the point of mounting it, to their dismay the wanderers found no room in the cars, packed as these were to their utmost with strugglers not for seats only but for foot-hold itself. So too were overloaded the platforms of the cars and the steps leading thereto; while the very car-roofs,—something one could barely expect to see,—were covered with venturesome passengers all in near peril of life.

Thus was freighted with would-be way-farers to the shrine of Our Lady at the Hill one at least of the day's excursion trains thither; and similarly burdened (the writer has been told) were others. Whereupon in their eagerness, not unmixed with anxiety, for carriage to their destination, as a last resort, the two pilgrims from Villanova in their failure to get a footing let alone seats in the cars, by kindly invitation of the leading engineer,* mounted his tender, where seated on billets of fire-wood,—most uncomfortable of resting-places, with legs dangling over its sides, they reached the Hill, albeit after many a halt by the way, and as easily surmised, not without much soreness of frame. Elsewhere reference has been made to the multitudes of people witnesses of the laying of St. Mary's corner-stone. Thus the *Catholic Herald* refers to what it styles

"the immense number of persons"

present on the grounds adjoining the church-site.

"Three of the largest trains" (it goes on to say) "we ever have witnessed each drawn by two powerful locomotives brought to the scene

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* The trains bearing excursionists to the Hill were what are known technically as "double-enders," with a pushing engine at the rear besides the drawing one in front.

of the ceremony thousands of well-dressed people. . . . The vast concourse must have amounted to 8,000 or 10,000 people." *

On reaching the Hill the observer would have witnessed along Chestnut Avenue—the road from depot to church-site, and in the fields adjacent, among the various groups of people, or crowds rather of residents, visitors, strangers, marshalled in some sort of order by sashed officials, confraternities, or church societies, chiefly from town, with regalia and banners,—all bent (as was evident) on one purpose seemingly—of getting as near as they could to the approaching scene of proceedings.

The foundation-walls of St. Mary's had been raised to a foot or so above ground; the floor-joists in place, and over them a stout covering of heavy boards. Yet despite the gloriousness of the day and the air of outward peacefulness and jubilee that beamed from the multitude, there was in that same mighty gathering of men many a heart heavy with misgivings as to the outcome of the feast, while many a foreboding of dreaded disaster, of outbreak, or what not of trouble, that albeit dimly was yet vividly in their breasts, was passed quietly along from lip to ear among the care-takers of the day's solemnity, the managers of the festival. (The enemies of God, as will be remembered, had foretold the downfall of His temple.) But through the staying Hand of the Almighty, nothing untoward of moment took place to mar the success of the day.

Accordingly between the hours of four and five in the afternoon of Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, June 10, (1855,) as bright and charming a day as ever dawned, with becoming pomp, full observance of ritual, and in the presence of thousands of Faithful and non-

* See the issue of the *Herald* for Thursday, June 14, 1855. While the *Public Ledger* (of the day after, Monday, June 11) adds that "one train from Ninth and Green comprised seventeen cars, another nine."

The late Rev. Edward A. Dailey, an Augustinian at Villanova, has told the writer that the train he travelled on (from town to the Hill) comprised twenty-two cars.

Faithful, the sacred foundation-stone of St. Mary's, Our Lady of Consolation, was laid by Dr. Moriarty, future cure of Her church, at the south-east corner of the building, that (as turned out) was opened to divine worship within less than six months.*

On this same Sunday, Bishop Neumann, whose presence at the Hill would doubtless have been honorably welcomed, was six miles away at Conshohocken, where in accordance with a prior arrangement, he was engaged in blessing the graveyard belonging to St. Matthew's church, besides confirming some forty-three souls.

Except for the mass of people on foot and in carriages that surrounded the site, a good view of the ceremonies could have been had from all sides. Around the church-lot there were no buildings, no trees (as now) to obstruct the scene. On Chestnut avenue—the street fronting the church, but lately opened through farm-land and orchards from pike to pike, there was but one house, if the writer's memory fails not in his record, on the whole line of road,—a small one-story-and-a-half building of stone—the dwelling of Jonathan (brother of Christian) Donat, a little further down in the hollow from where now stands the academy of the Misses Comegys.

For the rest all the land along Chestnut avenue was unencumbered from view save with growing crops and here and there an occasional tree, one of them the big oak in front of the church, more than once referred to in these pages. When the hour drew near for the ceremony, from Mr. Hirst's house (at the corner of the pike and Rex avenue,) where they had donned their robes for the occasion, marched straight across lots—through the fields—to the church-site, the sacred ministers with attendant clergy

* From the *Memorandum Book* we learn that St. Mary's corner-stone from the granite quarries of Joseph Middleton had been "dressed" by one Matthew Cain, a cutter in his employ, who therefore received (on "June 16, 1855") the sum of $7.75 for his service.

and acolytes—all from St. Augustine's, (in Philadelphia,) with procession-cross, book, censer, and *asperges*.*

An excellent choir from the same church was in attendance, and after several hymns admirably sung by them, the *Herald* (quoted ahead) goes on to say that Dr. Moriarty, having previously blessed the church-site, delivered the dedicatory address from the rear end of the platform, the first sermon given at the Hill by a Catholic priest.

Of the collection taken up, which it had been hoped would go far towards defraying at least the preliminary expenses of building St. Mary's, no other record has been kept than this brief entry in the *Memorandum Book,* that, namely, on June 22,—this was twelve days after the ceremony, the sum of $500 was given to Joseph Middleton by Rev. P. A. Stanton, for "corner-stone laying and railroad tickets." But this much is remembered that the sum gathered, chiefly because of the inability of the collectors to wedge their way through the dense crowd, was considered paltry in comparison with the number of well-wishers and would-be givers on the grounds. Besides the multitude never an insignificant barrier to concert in action, another factor to be borne in mind was the paucity in numbers of the collectors themselves, who in view of the magnitude of the gathering, which surpassed the most sanguine hopes of even the initiators of the scheme, were disproportionately few for any questing. A storm besides was threatening, a heavy summer-gust, that with its down-pour of rain in floods soon after the ceremonies were over, did much to scatter the multitude.

Moreover the very collectors themselves (though unwittingly) were in fault in their mode of making their quest, in working their way outward from the speaker's platform, thus driving the people (as it were) in front of

* The thurifer at the benediction services was the late Rev. Edward A. Dailey (of Villanova), then one of the sanctuary-boys of St. Augustine's.

them, instead of starting with their alms-baskets at the outskirts of the crowd, thus meeting the benevolently inclined face to face, when doubtless as experience has shown the result of their quest would have fruited in far larger gain. Still (*Deo gratias!*) the day closed with jubilee as auspiciously as it had opened with never a drawback to the festivity save the drenching of rain. Among the clergy present besides Father Edge already named were Fathers Stanton of St. Augustine's and Meagher of St. Denis' on Cobb's Creek in Delaware County.

At the close of the ceremonies in order to forestall profanation of the now blessed corner-stone, which in view of the threats of the would-be defilers of it was yet to be dreaded, this sacred monument was lifted from its bed in the wall, where it had been resting during the service, put into his carriage by Joseph Middleton, and taken home to "Monticello," until some time later in the month, the masons having in the meantime built up the church-walls all around, when the stone was re-laid in its place, and before night-fall some six feet or so of good masonry heaped on top of it.

Thus was celebrated the feast of the laying of the corner-stone of St. Mary's; and thus the day ended.*

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* In Appendix A will be found a list of the twenty-seven churches in Philadelphia seniors of St. Mary's, Our Lady of Consolation.

(To be continued.)

SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO,

SENT (IN 1874) TO GENERAL C. EWING BY RIGHT REV. J. B. LAMY BISHOP OF SANTA FÉ.*

SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, February 25, 1874.

GENERAL CHARLES EWING, Washington, D. C.:

HON. DEAR SIR,—Last July I had the honor of sending you a general report about our Pueblo Indians. Now I am prepared to give you information satisfactory, I think, for any candid mind, based upon history, old records, manuscripts, tradition, with citations of the authorities they are taken from.

There are no facts of history better proved than that the civilization of our Pueblo Indians is contemporaneous with the discovery of New Mexico by the Spaniards who brought with them the Catholic faith and within a few years converted most of the Indians.

A very few years after the conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortéz, as early as 1538, the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza sent Francisco Vasquez Coronado to make an exploration in the country of the Seven Cities of Cibola, as New Mexico was then called, on account of the herds of buffalo (*cibolos* in Spanish).†

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* This paper is taken from a copy in the Shea Collection in Riggs Library at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

† These facts are taken from Davis's work, "Conquest of New Mexico" (pp. 114-144). It was published in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in 1869.

Coronado took with him three missionaries (Franciscan Fathers). Their names are not given; still it seems that Fray Marcos de Niza was one of the company, and that the expedition, or part of it, was intrusted to him to go and reconnoitre first the towns and cities of the Cibola. He started from San Miguel in the province of Culiacan on Friday, 7th of March, 1539.

Niza was received everywhere with kindness and furnished with provisions, and they looked upon him as a man come from heaven. He must have reached as far as Zuñi. Seeing that he exposed himself to danger, he returned to Culiacan where Coronado was waiting for him. He gave a very glowing account of his discoveries. Coronado then marched (January, 1541) with all his forces towards New Mexico.

Padre Juan Padilla had come (1543) to New Mexico with Coronado's expedition, and, as this was not successful, they had to regress to Mexico, but Padre Padilla determined to remain for the conversion of the Indians.

"The inhabitants* . . . triumph." We have also an additional account of the death of Padre Padilla and his companion Juan de la Cruz, a lay brother, of the same Franciscan order, translated from the old manuscripts at Santa Fé, in the same work of Davis (p. 231).

Now all desire of further exploration into New Mexico was repressed for a period of about thirty years, until it was left to the zeal of Catholic missionaries to explore it again.

At this period (1581) a regular mission for New Mexico was projected by a pious lay brother, Agustin Rodriguez, who lived at the mission of San Bartolo, who having heard that populous countries unvisited by Spaniards lay north, he burned with the desire of going to preach the gospel to

* This paragraph is taken from the History of the American Catholic Missions, by Shea, p. 44.

them. He applied for permission, which was granted to him. The Viceroy el Conde de Coruña approved the plan, and gave him an escort of ten soldiers and six Indians. He started with Padre Francisco Lopez and Padre Juan de Santa Maria, whom he had selected. Having travelled several hundred miles, they arrived at the province of the Tegua Indians, who inhabited the banks of the Rio Grande fifty or sixty miles below Santa Fé.

At the sight of the great number of savages the escort took alarm and went back, and would not listen to the entreaties of the missionaries. However, the Fathers were kindly received by the Indians, who lived in comfortable houses, dressed in cotton mantles of their own making, and planted corn, etc.*

The Fathers, says Davis (p. 236), from whom we extract the above recital, were not alarmed at the desertion of the escort, for they put their faith and hope in things not of the world, but remained with cheerfulness among these heathen nations to instruct them in the knowledge of the living God.

A mission was opened, and so great was their success that Padre Juan de Santa Maria was sent back to Mexico to bring auxiliaries, but the third day after his departure, whilst asleep by the way, he was killed by a party of wandering Indians. The others meanwhile proceeded with their missionary labors, till at last Padre Lopez was killed whilst at his devotions.†

Brother Rodriguez was now left alone. The people were not indifferent to his teaching, but still they would not put up with his reproaches against their awful vices, and

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* Quivira, the place referred to, is about one hundred and fifty miles south of Santa Fé. General Carleton, U.S.A., visited the place and gives the account reported by Davis (p. 213). He mentions the ruins of a large church, etc.

† Their death took place at the pueblo of Puara, a few miles above Albuquerque. The Indians of Puara were of the Teguas tribe.

his death having been resolved upon, he met the same fate as his two companions.*

They evangelized also Galisteo, a village of the Tanos tribe twenty miles south of Santa Fé.

The pueblos of Puara and Galisteo are now in ruins. After relating the death of those missionaries, Davis, though not a Catholic, in his work, makes the following remark (p. 238): "Thus . . . by the Fathers."

Twelve of these churches still exist and are in good condition, and divine service is regularly kept in them. Attached to them they have each a large residence called convents, though most of those residences need repairs. Some of them have from twelve to fifteen rooms. Before concluding this report I will give the description of some of these churches.

The escort who had deserted the Fathers whose death we have related above reached San Bartolo in safety and related what had taken place in their exploration. The Franciscan Fathers were alarmed, and at their instance Don Antonio Espejo (a rich, brave, and pious man, as he is called by Shea) offered his services and his fortune to go and rescue their brethren. He set out for New Mexico with Father Don Bernardino Bertrand, but arrived only to learn of the death of the Fathers.

Besides Padre Bertrand, Espejo must have brought several other Fathers, for on their way to New Mexico, it is stated, they erected crosses as a sign of taking possession of the country, and that the friars would explain to the natives the mysteries of the cross and how it was the emblem of their religion.†

(1584) Espejo's expedition took about two years. He gave such flattering account of the places he had discovered

* This interesting relation about these missionaries is taken from Davis's work (pp. 236, 237), and also from Shea's (pp. 77, 78).

† Davis, p. 242.

that a few years after Don Juan de Oñate was sent to New Mexico with one hundred and thirty married men, with forces to plant there Spanish colonies.

(1591) He had along with him ten Franciscan friars whose names are given. (See Davis, p. 267.)

About the close of the sixteenth century Don Juan de Oñate conceived the idea of planting Spanish colonies in New Mexico. For our authorities of this fact we have three historians,—Padre Frejes, in his "History of the Conquest of New Mexico," published in Mexico, 1830, Mariana, and De Larenandiere, in his work published at Barcelona, in 1844. Only there is a difference of three or four years in their dates about the said expedition.

When he arrived in New Mexico with a force of about four hundred men, he had, besides, one hundred and thirty men, married, with their wives and children, who came as permanent settlers. He brought also ten Franciscan Fathers, men of spirit and learning. Their names were Alonzo Martinez, Francisco de San Miguel, Francisco de Zamora, Juan de Rosas, Alonzo de Lugo, Andres Corchado, Juan Claros, Cristoval Salazar, Juan de San Buenaventura, and Pedro de Vergara. The Spaniards were received in friendly manner by the Indians, who supplied them with provisions.

Oñate is said to have located about forty miles northwest of Santa Fé, between the Rio Grande and Chame River.

(1858) "Whilst the settlers," says Davis (p. 277), . . . worship Christ." "There were residences" (Shea, p. 80).

Shea (p. 82), whom I follow for this period, speaks of several partial revolts of the Pueblo Indians against the Spanish government and the missionaries; finally, of the general rebellion, in 1680, in which all the Indians joined. A scene of pillage and devastation ensued; several churches were destroyed, sacred vestments burned, and a great many missionaries killed.

Davis, in his work of the "Conquest of New Mexico" (p. 303), relates that in the time of the great rebellion the Indians committed awful excesses, and he gives the names of several priests who were put to death in the most cruel manner; *e.g.*, Father Jesus Morador of Jemes. No doubt he took the particulars from the Catholic records which he found at Santa Fé. The Indians went to his cell in the night; as Father Morador was not aware of the rebellion, they found him sleeping soundly. The first intimation he had of the danger was the crowd of infuriated savages rushing into his room. They made him prisoner and stripped him naked, then mounted him upon the back of a hog, and with lighted torches and fiendish yells paraded him round the church and through the village, beating him with sticks and heaping curses upon his head. Then they compelled him to get down upon his hands and knees, mounted upon his back, lashing him and spurring him through the village, until exhausted nature gave way and he fell dead under the cruel treatment. He was an old missioner.

From Davis's work (pp. 304, 305): "The death of three priests stationed at Acoma . . . church of the pueblo."

After relating the cruel death of two missionaries of the pueblo of Moqui, now in Arizona, Juan de Vallada and Jesus de Lombarde, he mentions the death of another priest whose name is not given, but whose office according to the records was procurador or procurator of the province.

In this manner, adds Davis, the priests stationed in the different pueblos were killed, and mostly by their own flocks, for whose spiritual and temporal good they had been laboring for years.

Having now driven the Spaniards from the country and achieved their independence, the Indians, says Davis (p. 306), abolished all the social and religious institutions in-

troduced by the Christians and again relapsed into the darkness and superstition of barbarism.

At the time of the rebellion Otermin was governor of New Mexico, but on account of the numerous forces of the natives he was obliged to evacuate the capital. At the siege of Santa Fé the savages lost four hundred men and many wounded, besides the loss sustained at other places. Of the Spaniards and civilized Indians about one hundred perished; of that number were eighteen priests.

One of the causes of this great rebellion which took place in 1680, which resulted in the expulsion of the Spaniards from the country, was, no doubt, the oppression and many abuses of the conquerors upon the Indians. These maintained their independence ten or twelve years, but peace was soon again restored, and by degrees New Mexico was again colonized; most of the missions were re-established.

Don Diego de Vargas, who succeeded the governor and captain-general, whom the rebels expelled from Santa Fé, brought several missionaries, who reconciled the pueblos to the Church. For about half a century civil order and missions went on with prosperity. During this period some Fathers succeeded in establishing a mission among the Apaches, whose tribe has always been most opposed to civilization and religion.

In 1742 Padre Juan Menchero penetrated as far as the Navajoes and Moquis; he and his companions made several converts among these Indians, to whom his predecessors had tried in vain to preach the gospel.

Villaseño, in his "Teatro Americano" (pp. 411, 422), gives a fine account of the state of New Mexico, as it was in the middle of the last century.

Many details could be given which took place during the rebellion,—*e.g.*, the taking of the pueblo of Isleta by Governor Otermin, December 5, 1681. This is the same governor who the year before had to evacuate Santa Fé.

The old records say when the expedition commanded by Otermin returned (1681) from El Paso, up the Rio Grande, he took possession of the village of the Isleta after a feeble resistance. Isleta is about fifteen miles north of Albuquerque. Here there is mention made of the church and priests' residence; both had been burned, but the church vestments and sacred vessels were found. These articles and the property of the church were delivered to Ayeta, who said Mass the next morning on the Plaza (public square), and preached to the Indians, admonishing them to repent from their apostasy and again enter the fold of the Church. After the sermon he absolved them. Many children were baptized, the first one receiving the name of Charles, in honor of the King of Spain, Charles the Second.

Santa Fé's records state that Cruzate, to whom an expedition was intrusted in 1684, to reconquer New Mexico, was captain-general for five or six years, but he failed to reduce the Indians. We read in the same old archives that seventy Franciscan missionaries came with that expedition in New Mexico and made a great number of conversions among the Indians of the western part of the territory.

In one of their pueblos, called San Antonio de Sinecu, Cruzate read to the natives (1685-86) the following orders from the part of the king their master:

"that they should respect and venerate the churches, attend mass punctually every Sunday and feast-day; that the governor, captains, and fiscals should pay particular attention in seeing that no person failed to do so, and not permit idolatrous dances and other abuses in the pueblos. They should treat the ministers of the Gospel with love and friendship, and observe the greatest respect towards them."

About this time a cruel war broke out among these same Indians (in the west part of New Mexico), who killed (1686) most of their priests, few only escaping to El Paso.

In the following relations, taken from the manuscripts, we read of Otermin, that the expedition (1681, December 16, to

1684), leaving Isleta, went north to the villages of Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and found the churches of those pueblos in ruins. In Sandia the chapel of San Antonio was in good condition, but the church and convent both in ruins. At San Felipe the roof was off the church and the priests' residence demolished. Here the church-bell was found lying upon the river-bank with holes broken in it. At Santo Domingo the church and convent (priests' residence) were in ruins. Nothing is said of the destruction of the church and convent of Cochiti; most likely they were not destroyed.

These three last pueblos are only thirty or forty miles south of Santa Fé

Mention is also made of the pueblo of Zia and Santa Ana making some kind of peace at that time. Their churches and priests' residence existed at that period. Nothing, therefore, is more evident than that these pueblos and all the others in New Mexico had their churches and priests these two hundred years.

From Davis's history (p. 338) we learn that Vargas (1692) succeeded Cruzate in the same office of governor and captain-general, and that he took with him to New Mexico several priests of the same Franciscan order, and that in September of that same year, 1692, they arrived near Santa Fé, which he succeeded in taking the next day after a very hard battle where many lives were lost.

With the fall of Santa Fé the pueblos in the vicinity, twelve in number, made their submission, and the same author states that the missionaries baptized seven hundred and sixty-nine persons, besides the children who were born during the rebellion.

From Santa Fé Vargas marched to Taos, about seventy-five miles north. On his way he received the submission of the large pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. Here we have the name of the priest Father Francisco Corvera,

who baptized eighty-six persons, the captain-general himself standing godfather for a daughter of Captain Lorenzo, one of the chiefs of the village.

On the next day Vargas crossed the mountains which separate San Juan from Taos and succeeded by peaceable means to bring to order the Indians of Taos.

From the old manuscripts which, as Mr. Davis says (in the preface of his work, "Conquest of New Mexico"), had been lying undisturbed in musty bundles for two centuries and were translated by Mr. Samuel Ellison, a gentleman of good character, well known in Santa Fé,—from these records, I say, we are told that Don Diego de Vargas succeeded Otermin and Cruzate, and met with a complete success. After a hard fight he took possession of Santa Fé, although he had hardly five hundred men against the numerous forces of the enemy.

Vargas was accompanied by several Franciscan Fathers, who, after the fall of Santa Fé and the submission of twelve pueblos in the vicinity, baptized seven hundred and sixty-nine persons.

We have the names of some of these missionaries,—viz., Father Don Francesco Corvera. . . .

Having established order in Santa Fé, Vargas started to subdue the Indians of Taos, who lived seventy-five miles north in a beautiful and fertile valley thirty miles from Santa Fé. He reached San Juan, where he was well received, and there he stood godfather for a daughter of one of the chiefs, Captain Lorenzo. (Davis says, p. 342, "Eighty-six baptisms were administered in San Juan.")

Here again the old records mention that the same missionary Father Corvera, who had baptized the number of San Juan Indians mentioned above, also absolved of apostasy the Indians of Taos and baptized ninety-six, October 7, 1692.

From Taos, where Vargas had been so successful, he

came to Picuries, and this pueblo gave him a friendly welcome.

In the same month of October, 1692, Vargas marched for the pueblo of Pecos, twenty-five miles southeast from Santa Fé, where he was received in triumph. Two Fathers, Corvera and Barros, were with Vargas, and according to the old records, after having absolved the Indians from their apostasy, they baptized two hundred and forty-eight, the captain-general himself standing godfather for a child of the sacristan, or sexton.

Pecos pueblo is in ruins; the few Indians left of this pueblo went to Jemes. At the time of Vargas they were said to be fifteen hundred.

Following the march of Vargas, we see that in Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, and other pueblos west of the Rio Grande all the Indians made their submission, many were baptized in each place, etc.

Acoma and Zuñi submit. (Davis, p. 355.) The number of baptisms is also given: eighty-seven in Acoma, two hundred and ninety-four in Zuñi; church vessels, paintings, crucifixes, etc., were found.

Previous to the expedition of Zuñi Vargas had in a short time completely submitted seventeen districts or provinces without a fight, and the missionaries who were with him baptized fifteen hundred and seventy persons.

From Zuñi the expedition went farther west as far as the Moqui villages, seven in number, and there also many were baptized and the whole population reconciled (?) to the government and to the Church.

The following year, 1693, upon the return of Vargas to El Paso, the government sent another expedition with emigrants to colonize New Mexico. This likewise was intrusted to Vargas. (Davis, p. 873.)

During the period of four or five years we learn from the records that the Indians had rebelled again, killing

many Spaniards, five priests, and that it was only after many severe battles that the natives submitted, having themselves suffered heavy losses. In 1703 we find again Vargas commanding officer of New Mexico. (Extract from Shea's "Catholic Missions," p. 83.) "The Indians," says Villaseñor, ". . . United States."

When I came here, in 1851, as first Catholic bishop of New Mexico I found missionaries residing in several pueblos of Indians. Their numbers, as I should judge, were at least eight thousand. Among the old people many can read and write; they had been taught by their resident missionaries. Though I have been here twenty-three years, having very limited means, all I could do was to provide some priests for the principal pueblos, who instruct them in their religious duties, and administer the sacraments to them.

Most of our Pueblo Indians are regularly attended the same as the Mexicans, and six of the largest pueblos have each a residing priest.

They are simple, honest, though most of them ignorant, but we should not be surprised at this state of things when we consider how abandoned they were during almost a hundred years, cut off from the balance of the world by immense distance on every side, with great danger from the neighboring savages, and also often in the midst of scandals on the part of the Spanish or Mexicans.

We cannot deny that some of them have superstitions, but we hope these abuses will disappear by degrees. Many of them are good Catholics, and have the strongest attachment to their faith. The petition they made last year for Catholic teachers is the best proof of it.

They have the greatest respect for their clergy and refer to them for their difficulties, etc., and abide generally by their decisions. Shea (in the said work above referred to, p. 83) says of our Indians that "they are . . . civilized tribes."

Then he quotes a government report of 1854 (p. 429): "The Pueblos or half civilized . . . from eight to ten thousand."

From the notes and extracts taken from history, manuscripts, records, traditions of old trustworthy people, monuments existing to the present time, such as the large and good churches, built about two hundred and fifty years ago (we are using ten of them now for divine service), the priests' residences (*conventos* in Spanish), sacred vessels, sacred vestments, splendid oil-paintings, all these as old as the churches themselves, manuscripts almost in every pueblo with the names of the Fathers residing, the acts of the visits of each ecclesiastical superior, as stated in the report, all these are more than sufficient to demonstrate the conversion of our Pueblo Indians to the Catholic faith.

What greater proof of their being Catholics could be required than their churches, of which many are two hundred and fifty years old, the house of the missionary joining the church, the people of each pueblo instructed in Catholic prayers and devotions, and the fact of their going regularly to church even in the present time.

Were I not afraid to be too diffuse in this report, I could state, upon the testimony of the oldest Mexican settlers, the date when their forefathers first came to such a place, etc.

I will mention only the mission of Taos, being the farthest north of New Mexico and consequently the last one established in the valley of the Rio Grande, for we know very well that the Spaniards came from the South and had settlements and missions first below Santa Fé, and went up by degrees as far north as Taos, almost one hundred miles up from Santa Fé.

The present church of the pueblo of Taos is small, built since the annexation of New Mexico to the United States, but the old one was destroyed in the battle which took place

there between the Indians and American forces in 1845. This Taos church is a large one (sun-dried bricks), capable of containing a thousand people, built one hundred and fifty years ago, according to the testimony of the oldest Indians and Mexicans and the records of Santa Fé.

The same testimonies or traditions prove that the Mexicans, or Españolos, as they are called by the Pueblos, settled in the fertile valley of Taos two hundred and thirty years ago. The old church then existed in the pueblo, with a missionary residing there. Mass was sung every Sunday and festival, the new settlers attending Mass with the Indians; catechism, prayers, etc., taught every day; and these last practices of prayer and catechism are preserved to the present day.

Most of the records and archives have been destroyed or lost or mutilated; still we have the records of this church of Taos as far back as 1789, without interruption to the present time, showing baptisms, marriages, burials.

These records also contain the acts of visits made to the Taos mission by some missionaries with jurisdiction or authority from their ecclesiastical superiors.

Parroquia de San Juan
(Parish of Saint John).

Looking over the old records found in the pueblo of San Juan, we have the act of Visit of this mission, of that of San Ildefonso, San Francisco, of Nambé, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of Pojuaque, signed by Father Francisco Zarate, secretary and visitor of the said missions, with date 9th July, 1779. The *custodio* of the said missions, as the manuscripts call them, was the resident missionary. We have also his name,—Juan José de Inojoza.

Father Visitor recommends *los Padres custodios,* or resident fathers, to comply with their obligations as ministers of God, instructing both Indians and Spaniards, old and

young ones, men and women, in their respective duties, and to pray for them in the sacrifice of the Mass, etc.

Four years later (1783) we have a decree from the ecclesiastical authority of the province, written in Latin, that Fathers Santiago Peroy de Sierra, José Oliva, Raymundo Antonio Gonzales, Sebastian Anton, that these Fathers have been sent to these missions of San Juan and San Ildefonso by the proper ecclesiastical authority to reside among them and administer the sacraments, obliging the Spaniards and the Indians to receive the said Fathers as their lawful pastors. Then follows the signature of "F. F.," with date.

CONVENTS (RESIDENCE) OF THE MISSION OF THE ASSUMPTION, B.M.V. OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY), DE LIA, JULY 19, 1783.

JOSÉ DE LA PRADA, CUSTO.
DIEGO MUNOZ JARAOLO SECRIO.

Now, if considered necessary, I could produce some extracts from every pueblo (with few exceptions, for some of the records manuscripts are lost) to prove that one, sometimes two, or even three missionaries had resided in that respective pueblo or village from fifty to two hundred and fifty years back.

From 1800 to 1826 we find in the archives of Taos the names of several of those padres visitadores (visitors),—*e.g.*, Fray Gabriel de Lago, Fray Andres Villaneuva, Fr. Diego Martinez, Ramon Gonzales, . . . and many other Franciscan Fathers, who were sent by their superiors from old Mexico to see the state of the missions and to give a report of what they had seen.

From 1826 to 1874 the following missionaries have been residing in the mission of Taos without interruption: Padre Antonio José Martinez, Padre Damaso Taladria, Padre José Eulogio Ortiz, Padre Gabriel Ussel, who is living there now, and acting as parish priest with a young assistant Father.

What I have stated concerning the mission of Taos can also be said of all the Pueblo missions, particularly of the following: Picuries, San Juan de los Caballeros, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tessuque, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Jemez, Zia, Santa Ana, Sandia, Isleta, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, in all seventeen pueblos. I have left out Nambé and Pojuaque, as these two villages put together hardly make up one hundred persons.

Tessuque and Zia may have two hundred and fifty Indians. The children of these four pueblos could be educated in the college of the Christian Brothers, or attend school, if practicable, at the nearest place.

I might propose the same plan to those of Picuries, who are not much over a hundred souls. There would then be twelve pueblos of some importance where schools could be established. I will respectfully submit in the following pages what I would consider more convenient for the education of the Indian children, having myself an experience of twenty-three years in New Mexico.

Now, I hope the government will do us justice, for, if the policy of President Grant to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians is carried into effect, and I have no doubt it will be when the facts of history will be well known, then the claims of our Indian pueblos to public school funds and Catholic teachers are stronger than those of any other tribes in the United States, for from the facts stated above and demonstrated by all historians, both Protestant and Catholic, who have related the conquest of Mexico, it is as clear as daylight that the Pueblos were converted by Catholic missionaries of the order of St. Francis. Previous to the annexation of this territory no Protestant missionary had visited this country.

I arrived myself almost immediately after the annexation, and I found Catholic missionaries residing in nine of these

pueblos, and the other pueblos were regularly attended by the same Fathers. In this period of my residence here for twenty-three years there is only one single instance of a Protestant missionary, Rev. Mr. Gorman, who managed some way or another to settle himself in the pueblo of Laguna about eighteen years ago. The testimony of Mr. Arny, Pueblo agent (in 1870 and 1871), will give an idea of the progress he obtained in that village or pueblo. In his report ("Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 389) he says, in his paragraph on Laguna pueblo at the end of the page:

"By the request of the Protestants (whose ignorance is such that they do not know what Protestantism is, though they claim the name), I have employed Walter G. Marmon at fifty dollars per month as a teacher. . . ."

In the paragraph before this he says,—

"There are one hundred and eight families who call themselves Protestants; the balance of one hundred and ninety-one families are Roman Catholics, worshippers of the sun, necromancers, etc."

In the same paragraph he pretends to have ascertained, without stating from what authority, that the parish priest, who lives at Cevoyeta, a good-sized Mexican town twelve miles from Laguna, receives six hundred dollars a year in wheat, cattle, and grain.

He should not have omitted that the Father, who has charge of that mission, has about two hundred and fifty families of Mexicans, that he has to travel two-thirds of his time, day and night, to attend to the most urgent wants of his parishioners, scattered in a diameter of one hundred miles, and I can prove that he does not receive from all his people together the amount Mr. Arny states in his report.

He says, in the same paragraph, "No one can read or write." How is it that before Mr. Marmon was appointed by Mr. Arny, at the rate of fifty dollars per month and

fifty dollars more from the Presbyterian Missionary Board, the pretended Protestant school kept in this pueblo of Laguna during at least fifteen years could not teach some children of this pueblo to read and write? I would be tempted to say of those teachers who preceded Mr. Marmon in the same pueblo, that they acted as he does himself,—that is to say, receiving one hundred dollars per month, more or less, having a kind of room for school, with very few Indian children, only on some solemn occasions, and taking leave of absence for weeks and months.

The following facts will prove what I advance about Mr. Marmon, teacher in the pueblo of Laguna. Last September (1873) I visited the pueblo of Laguna myself, kept church in the old church, almost in ruins now, administered confirmation to sixty children, and gave them an instruction in Spanish. I called for Mr. Marmon and the chief of the Indians, who, according to Mr. Arny, call themselves Protestants, so as to pacify their feelings and make a reconciliation, but I could not induce them to come to see me. Father Lestra, who visits this pueblo regularly, stated to me about Mr. Marmon that for eight months he had hardly opened his school a few days, and from his own acknowledgment to the same Father Lestra, who is well acquainted with that teacher, he was drawing his salary regularly, and that he had a fine time of it.

From Agent Arny's statement the families of this pueblo who remained Catholics (and all are Catholics, knowing their prayers and having Catholic belief, if any) are double in number the Protestant, yet he had not a cent to spare for a Catholic teacher. Father Lestra put a Catholic teacher at my own expense. The Indian children of that school, at least most of them, twenty-two in number, can read and write, and they sang Spanish hymns during my Mass.

The divisions and quarrels of these Laguna Indians commenced about eighteen years ago. Many abuses and bar-

barities have been committed on both sides, but I am almost sure that as soon as the agency is given to the Catholic Church, peace will be restored.

All other Pueblos, seeing the discord that has existed for several years among the Indians of Laguna, have with reason attributed the cause of it to the presence of a Protestant teacher or minister there, and they have unanimously refused to admit in their village the Protestant teachers sent to them by the Presbyterian Missionary Board and the government. The actual Pueblo agent is making every effort in his power to enforce these teachers on our pueblos, but with very little success.

The pueblos of Isleta and Jemes have each a Protestant teacher, who was admitted under some fair promises, etc. The Isleta school-master has one or two children, being those of the family where he stays; the teacher of Jemes was enforced there last September by the present Pueblo agent, Mr. ——.

I use the expression *enforced* because all the Indians of that pueblo were opposed to having a teacher; only three old Indians were in favor (most likely they had been bribed). They held councils for hours each time, but when their agent, who introduced the teacher himself, went so far as to threaten to punish any one who would oppose having the school-master he brought to them, they were intimidated, and so they yielded. I have these particulars from one of the chiefs of Jemes and from other Indians there. This teacher, Mr. Walsh, is not very strict as a teacher, gives plenty of liberty to the children (six or eight),* who attend his school. Besides, the school-room is often vacant, and there are whole weeks of almost complete vacation, both for pupils and master, but his salary goes on.

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* Mr. Walsh (I have learned since I wrote the above) had eighteen children.

This same teacher had also the school last year in Jemes, and Father Rolly, who visits this pueblo every two weeks, lent him the old convent (priests' house) joining the church, but after three months residence in the said village, this same Mr. Walsh had to be expelled from the place on account of his drunkenness, insults, and abuse against the natives and the children under his care.

Rev. Father Rolly has a good young Mexican as a Catholic teacher in this pueblo. The school is attended by twenty Indian boys.

There is great danger that the Indians of the pueblo of Jemes will soon split and quarrel as those of Laguna, unless we are able to put a remedy to it. The only remedy to keep them united is to have the agency ourselves, and we think that we have a good right to it, as these Indians *are all* Catholics.

Particulars about the Old Church at Jemes.

At the beginning of the great rebellion of 1680 the old church of the pueblo of Jemes existed, and also the convento or priests' residence, for Padre Morador was murdered there in his cell, as we see in the relation of his death. The ruins of the old church can hardly be seen. A new one, smaller, was erected in 1856. Part of the priests' residence still exists, and has been used for a school-house these few years past.

Since 1852 to the present date five Fathers have been residing in Jemes,—Donato, Comacho, Valencia, Rodriguez, and Rolly.

Also the old church near the Hot Springs, six or seven miles above the present pueblo. This church, whose walls are still standing, and also the priests' house adjoining, but most in ruins, must have been built, as the other large churches of the various pueblos, at the beginning of the XVIIth century, if not at the end of the XVIth, for as it

has been observed above, the old manuscripts state that (three ?) churches were built during that period in about thirty or forty years.

This church, about half a mile above the Hot Springs of Jemes, is situated upon a small plateau on the right bank of the river, flanked by a very high ridge, surrounded on three sides by precipices and very steep and lofty mountains, whose rocks offer a great variety of colors.

The church is not less than one hundred and fifty feet long by forty feet wide in the clear. The walls, regularly built, are of a kind of flat stones, some of them regular flags, from six to seven feet deep. Part of these walls is yet standing as high as the upper portion of the window, about twenty feet.

The priests' residence was very large; a dozen rooms can be yet counted, though in ruins. It is more than probable that several Padres were there together living as in community.

I have visited these Hot Springs several times. They have no doubt a peculiar virtue for curing rheumatic pains and other diseases. I have forgotten the degree of heat, but they are extremely hot; they are also petrifying waters. Large bridges, caves, and ridges of petrification are seen there.

There are five different languages or dialects spoken by the Indians of the nineteen pueblos or villages of New Mexico.

1. Those of Taos, Picuries, Sandia, and Isleta speak the same dialect.

2. San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojuaque, and Tesuque another.

3. Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, and Acoma another.

4. Jemes another.

5. Zuñi another.

Now, as it is stated in the other part of the report, these Pueblo Indians generally, more so the men and boys, speak Spanish, with few exceptions. Each pueblo has some Indians who can read and write (*e.g.*, in San Juan fifty or sixty can read and write, some taught by old priests in the last century), and these among old people from seventy to ninety (well known to me), a clear proof that they were taught almost a century ago by their resident priests.

Acoma.

This pueblo is a great curiosity on account of being located on a high rocky narrow plateau. It consists of two rows of two-storied good houses built of adobes and stones. The church, pretty well preserved, is one hundred and eighty feet by thirty-five. I visited the place several times, and admired the two beautiful bells of that church for their silver tones. The convent or priests' residence is very large. They keep rain-water in rocky caves, and often suffer for want of it. This village is about seventy-five miles west of Albuquerque. Church and convent, about five hundred souls.

Laguna.

This is also a large pueblo, unfortunately divided into parties which show a great animosity towards each other. The church of this village, as the one of Acoma, is at least two hundred and fifty years old. It is twenty-five miles east of Acoma, about fifty miles from Albuquerque.

Zia (one hundred and thirty souls).

This is a very small village. Their church is well preserved, also the priests' residence. They are fifteen miles west of the Rio Grande, on the Jemes River. These Indians and also those of Santa Anna (about four hundred souls) are very good people. The same must be said of Acoma, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. The church of Santa Anna is about one hundred and fifty feet by thirty-

five, well preserved. They are situated seven miles from the Rio Grande, six miles below Zia, on the Jemes River.

The Pueblo Indians keep the same habits, customs, and manners of living, clothing themselves, it may be said, as they had at the time of the conquest of the country by the Spaniards. We refer to what has been stated on this matter in this report.

Their houses are generally two stories, constructed of adobes (sun-dried brick), and entrance is from the roof, to which they ascend by a ladder. They go down in the interior by trap-doors. This mode of entrance was adopted for protection against wild Indians.

They cultivate the soil and raise every kind of grain, and have generally the supply necessary for their wants. Several pueblos have orchards. Isleta and Sandia have beautiful vineyards.

Each pueblo has a separate government, but all nearly the same. They have a chief, or governor, and different officers, who are elected annually, except the cacique, who holds his office for life.

There exists a pious custom among them to have the *baston* of the governor blessed by the priest in the church and delivered with all ceremony to him just after his election, which takes place on the first day of January.

Having an experience of twenty-three years in this territory, and having spoken all this time the Spanish, which is the language of the country, spoken also by our Pueblo Indians, I would respectfully propose to teach the Spanish first, and by degrees the English, according as the children would advance. I consider it almost impossible to make them understand the meaning of anything, unless explained to them in Spanish, which most of them know and speak, besides their own peculiar dialect.

An appropriation of five hundred dollars a year for each pueblo, which makes the amount of six thousand dollars

for the twelve pueblos of importance, the other pueblos having so few people, we would endeavor to have some of the children educated in Santa Fé.

I think the said amount of six thousand dollars would be sufficient to pay a teacher in each village and also to procure some benches, tables, stationery, books, etc. The convents or priests' residences could serve for school-rooms.

Another appropriation of six thousand dollars to put Indian boys and girls out of every pueblo, say thirty or forty, boarding in our schools at Santa Fé, furnishing them clothing, etc.

As we have clergymen residing in several pueblos, they could see to the regulations and progress of their schools. The other pueblos, being visited regularly once or twice a month, would be also inspected by the same priests.

The Pueblo Indians having a great respect for the Catholic Father, and consequently the Father having a great influence with the Indians for their spiritual and temporal welfare, we hope that by that means the schools would be attended and good results could be obtained with good management, prudence, and entire patience.

Also, I would ask, besides the twelve thousand dollars mentioned above, two thousand dollars for the agency's building in Santa Fé, lodging and provisions for the Indians, and also forage for their animals (for if the government gives us the agency for the Pueblos, we are sure to have some Indians every week, if not every day).

The Zuñi village is included with our twelve principal pueblos.

Had we the Moquis (seven pueblos) and the Navajoe's reservation, it would take at least four thousand dollars more.

Your obedient servant,

J. B. LAMY,

Bishop of Santa Fé, New Mexico.

SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, February 25, 1874.

THE RECORDS

OF THE

PARISH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

AT POST VINCENNES, IND.

A.D. 1749—1773.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY REV. EDMOND J. P. SCHMITT,
Fellow and Life Member of the Texas State Historical Association.

(CONTINUED.)

103.

[36]
12 january 1758 Ba. Louis boyer. Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. Louis Boyer & Marie Gauder. G. F. julien des Rivieres & genevieve du devoir

Julien devernai
Julien Desrivieres
Ma. × Genevieve du Devoir

104.

2 february 1758. Ba. Barbe Chappert Bo. 1st february leg. marriage bet. Nicolas Chappert & Marie Claire Hocheler. G. F. julien des riviéres & barbe du Devoir

julien Devernai Jesuite
julien desriviéres
barbe Du devoir

105.

1 April 1758 Ba. Elisabet Lefebvre Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. Antoin lefebvre & Louise Caron. G. F. jean Bte Girard dit Blindamour & Catherine Caron Julien Devernai jesuite
Ma. × jean bapt. girard
Ma. × Catherine Caron.

105 bis.

16 April, 1758 Ba. Jean Bte bonneau Bo. 15, April, leg. marriage bet. Charles Bonneau & Genevieve Du Devoir. G. F. Charles desriviere & jeanne Du Devoir

Julien Devernai

Ma. × Charles Desrivieres.
Ma. × Jeanne Du Devoir.

106.

14 June, 1758, Ba. Jean Bte. S. of Marie Louise Indian slave belonging to Mr. St. Ange Commandant at poste Vincennes. The mother declared that the father of the child was the one called "the Old Soldier" G. F. jean Bte. Girard. G. M. Marguerite des rosiers.

Julien devernai jesuite.

Ma. × Jean Bte. Girard.
Ma. × Marg desrosiers.

107.

17. November 1758 Ba. françois Racine Bo. 10 November. leg. marriage bet. Anne Du Devoir jean baptiste racine & anne Dudevoir. G. F. francois Racine G. M. Marie joseph picard.

jul. Devernai jesuite

Hemmar. Racine. de Bochene
Ma. × marie joseph picard.

108.

1 December 1758, Ba. Marie Louise Crepeau Bo. 30. November. leg. marriage bet. Louis Crepeau & Louise perthuis G. F. Charles Bonneau G. M. Marie Gauder.

jul Devernai

Charle Bonneau
Ma. × Marie Gauder.

109.

3. December, 1758, Ba. Charlotte slave of Sr. La framboise. G. F. Charle Bonneau. G. M. francoise outelas.

Jul Devernai jesuite.
Julien Desriviere
Ma. × G. M.

109 bis.

20 April, 1759, Ba. Ursule Vaudry Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte Vaudry & agnesse Richard. G. F. francois fillatro & marie joseph Richard.

Jul Devernai

Francois phiatro
Ma. × Marie joseph Richard.

110.

6. May, 1759, Ba. Louise Agnesse Slave of the widow perthuis. G. F. jean pierre fondeux dit parisien & Agnesse Richard.

Jul devernai Jesuit
Parisien

Ma. × Agnesse Richard.

111.

[37]

15 May 1759 Ba. Louis Renault Bo. 14 same month. leg marriage bet. Jean Bte. Renault & therese Mallet. G. F. Mr. St. Ange Commandant at this post & Marie Claire Stoceheler.

jul Devernai jesuit
St. Ange.

Ma. × G. M.

112.

30 July, 1759, Ba. Joseph Bo. 29. leg. marriage bet. Charle Boneau & genevieve Du Devoir. G. F. Etienne Philibert & Marie Joseph chappert.

Julien Devernai Jesuite

Phillibert.
Ma. × G. M.

113.

2. December, 1759, supplied ceremonies over Angelique perandeau leg. Da. of joseph Perandeau & Marie angelique Pallu. G. F. françois jerome la tour & Amable Pallu.

Jul. Devernai

francois geromme La tour
Ma. × G. M.

113 bis.

19 December, 1759, Ba. an Indian woman belonging to Mr. Orleans. She was named Marie Louise. G. F. Etienne Philibert dit Orléans. & Marie Louise Gauder.

jul. Devernai

Philibert. Ma. × G. M.

114.

24, December, 1759 supplied Ceremonies over Caterine bordeleau leg. Da. Antoine bordeleau & Caterine Caron. G. F. Vital Caron & Suzanne Colton [or Bolton]. Bo. 23 December:

Jul. Devernai

Vital Caron Ma. × G. M.

115.

[place for date blank] January Ba. Jean Bte. & Marie jeanne racine Bo. 15 same month leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. racine & Jeanne du Devoir. The boy born last. G. F. Nicolas Cardinal & G. M. Genevieve

Du devoir. and the girl had for G. F. Charle Bonneau G. M. Marie anne Mallet.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × Nicolas Cardinal Charle Bonneau.
Ma. × Angelique du Devoir. Ma. × Marie Anne Mallet.

[38] 116.

4 February 1760. Ba. Marie Louise Da. Lizette Indian slave of Mr. St. Ange. G. F. Louis Mallet G. M. Marie therese Mallet.

jul Devernai jesuite

Louis Mallet
Ma. × G. M.

117.

6 February 1760. Ba. Jean Bte Boyer. leg. marriage bet. joseph Padduca & Charlotte, both Indian slaves of M La framboise. G. F. francoise fillatro G. M. Marie Anne, widow of butault

jul Devernai jesuite

Francois phiatro
Ma. × G. M.

118.

31. March, 1760, Ba. Marie Louise leg. Da. of Antoine Le febvre & Louise Caron, Bo. 31. March. G. F. Louis Cavallier. G. M. Marie wife of Baptiste "without fear" [sans peur].

julien Devernai jesuite

Louis Cavellier
Ma. × G. M.

119.

25 June 1760 Ba. elisabet Da. of Messire Antoine Drouet & françoise outelas Bo. 24 June. G. F. Antoine barada & Elisabet Beauvais.

jul: Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. M. barada.

120.

12 July, 1760, Ba. Slave of Mr. Crepeau, named Suzanne. G. F. Antoine bordeleau. G. M. marguerite bollon [or bolton: the correct spelling is most probably Beaulon.]

julien Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

[39] 121.

10 September, 1760, Ba. Louis Barada, leg. mar. bet. Antoine barada & Marguerite des rosiers Bo. 9. September. G. F. Mr. St. Ange, Captain & Commandant at poste vincennes. G. M. francoise outelas.

jul. Devernai jesuite

St. Ange. Ma. × G. M.

122.

15. October 1760. Ba. joseph Eugene levron. leg. marriage bet. Joseph Levron & jasette Custo. Bo. 14. October. G. F. philippe Daigneau. G. M. Anne du Devoir.

jul Devernai jesuite
daignieau

Ma. × G. M.

123.

5 January 1761. Ba. jacques Cardinal. leg. Marriage bet. jean Bte Cardinal & Marie Anne Mallet. Bo. 5 January. G. F. Nicolas Cardinal. G. M. Marie joseph Girard.

jul Devernai jesuite.

Ma. × Nicola Cardinal. Ma. × G. M.

124.

4 February 1761. Ba. Pierre boneau leg. S. Charles Bonneau & Genevieve du Devoir. G. F. jean Bte. racine G. M. francoise outlas.

jul Devernai jesuite

St. Mar rasiut
Ma. × G. M.

125.

3 February, 1761, Ba. francois des Lauriers Renault leg. S. of Jean Bte. renault dit des Lauriers & therese Mallet. G. F. françois fillatro & marguerite Pollon.

jul: Devernai jesuite

fa. fillatro
Ma. × G. M.

126.

19. February, 1761, Ba. Jean Bte. Vaudry leg. S. of Jean Bte Vaudry & agnésse richard. G. F. Antoine Marie. G. M. Marie Gauder. Bo. yesterday.

jul: Devernai jesuite.

Antoine Marie
Ma. × G. M.

127.

21. May, 1761, supplied the ceremonies over Suzanne Goder. leg. Da. of Pierre Gauder & Suzanne bolton Bo. 2 May. G. F. Louis Hamelin G. M. Marie Marguerite Bolton.

Jul. Devernai jesuite

Louis Hamelin Ma. × G. M.

127 bis.

24 May, 1761, Ba. Marie Claire Chapert leg. Da. of Nicolas Chapert & Marie Claire Stocheler. Bo. same day. G. F. Antoine barada. G. M. marie joseph picard.

jul Devernai jesuite

Antoine barada.

128.

[40]
26 May, 1761. Ba. Marie Anne Boyer. leg. Da. of Louis Boyer & Marieanne gauder Bo. same day. G. F. francois Gauder. G. M. helene Lallement.

jul: Devernai jes:

Ma. × G. M. francois godérr

129.

8 August, 1761, Ba. Catherine St. Aubin. leg. Da. Jean Bte. St. Aubin & Marie Louise Denis. Bo. same day. G. F. Louis Edeline. G. M. Catherine Caron.

jul. Devernai S. J.

Ma. × G. M. L E Deline.

129 bis.

5 September, 1761, Ba. pierre Racine. leg. S. of Jean Bte. Racine & Marie Anne Du Devoir. Bo. same day. G. F. pierre Bouvier G. M. Marie joseph Danie

jul. Devernai jesuite

Pierre Bouvier.
Ma. × G. M.

130.

9 September, 1761, Ba. Marie Louise Edeline leg. S. Louis Edeline & Marie thomas. Bo. same day. G. F. Michel H. Rapé. G. M. Marie Louise Gauders.

jul Devernai s. J.

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

131.

12 September, 1761, Ba Nicolas barada leg. marriage bet. Antoine barada & marguerite des Rosiers. Bo. 11. September. G. F. Nicolas Chapert. G. M. Marie therese Mallet.

jul Devernai jesuite

Nicolas Schapart
Ma. G. M. ×.

132.

26. September, 1761, Ba. Suzanne Da. joseph & Suzanne slave of Mr. Crepeau. Bo. same day. G. F. pierre Bouvier. G. M. Marie Louise Caron.

jul: Devernai jesuite

Pierre Bouvier.
Ma. × G. M.

133.

24. October, 1761, Ba. Magdeleine Bordeleau. leg. Da. Antoine bordeleau & Catherine Caron. Bo. yesterday. G. G. Louis Olivier Santier [Doctor]. G. M. Louise Caron.

jul. Devernaie jesuite

Louis Oliver Santier
Ma. × G. M.

134.

[41]
9. November, 1761, Ba. Etienne S. of the slave of beauchaine. G. F. Etienne Philibert. G. M. Marie wife of Baptiste sans peur.

jul Devernai jesuit

Phillibert. Ma. × G. M.

135.

1. December, 1761. Ba. therese lefebvre leg. Da. Antoine Lefebvre & Louise Caron. Bo. 3° November G. F. fran: Gauder. G. M. Louise Denie.

jul. Devernai jesuite
francois Gadérre
Louise Denis

136.

11. March 1762, B. Antoine La deroute, leg. S. Alexis la deroute & Agathe Campo. Bo. yesterday. G. F. Antoine la framboise. G. M. Catherine Campo.

jul Devernai jesuite

Antoine framboise Ma ×. G. M.

137.

4. Aprile 1762 Ba. rene goder leg. S. rené Goder & Catherine Campo: G. F. Charle Bonneau G. M. Anne wife of piere Lapointe.

jul Devernai jesuite

Charles Bonneau
Ma. × G. M.

138.

8. May 1762. Ba. Marie Anne Da. Lizette slave of widow butteau. G. F. rene des laurier G. M. Marie anne Gauder.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

139.

4 June, 1762, Ba. Marguerite Drouet leg. Da. of Mr. Antoine Drouet & Dame francois outelas. Bo. 4. G. F. Etienne philibert. G. M. Marguerite Chapart.

jul Devernai jesuite

Phillibert
Ma. × G. M.

140.

17. July, 1761. Ba. Jacques Louis, leg. S. Joseph & helene our slaves. Bo. same day. G. F. Louis Mallet. G. M. helene.

jul Devernai jesuit

Louis Mallet Ma. × G. M.

141.

[42]

5 September, 1762, Ba. Marie Marguerite barada. leg. Antoine barada & Marguerite des rosiers. Bo. 5. G. F. Joseph des Rosiers. G. M. Marie joseph Chapert.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

141 bis.

13. [he writes "*tresiem*"] September, 1762, Ba. charles, leg. S. Jean Bte. renault & therese Mallet. Bo. same day. G. F. Antoine Mallet. G. M. Marguerite Chapart:

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

142.

15. October, 1762 Ba. Jean Bte St. Aubin. leg. child Jean Bte St. Aubin & Louise denis. Bo. 15. G. F. Antoine le febvre. G. M. helene lallemant.

julien Devernai jesuite

Antoine le faibvre
Ma. × G. M.

143.

15. November, 1762, Ba. Angelique leg. Da. Charles Bonneau genevieve du Devoir. Bo. 15. G. F. Jacques Chalbonneau. G. M. Angelique beauchene.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. M. Chal Bonneau

144.

7. January, 1763, Ba. Marie joseph. Da. Pelagie Indian slave of Mr. St. Marie. G. F. Jacques Chalbonneau. G. M. genevieve Du Devoir.

jul Devernai jesuite

Chalbonnaux
Ma. × G. M.

145.

12. February, 1763, Ba. Rose Genevieve Metayer leg. S. joseph Metayer. & joseph Custeau [elsewhere Custos] G. F. Pierre Bouvier. G. M. Genevieve Boneau.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F. Ma. × G. M.

146.

[43]
12 March 1763. Ba. Antoine S. Lizette. Slave of Mr. St. Ange. G. F. nicolas Michel. G. M. —— buteau.

jul Devernai jesuite

Nicolas Michel.
Ma. × G. M.

147.

27 June 1763 Ba. piere joseph S. joseph & helene negro slaves of the Jesuit Fathers. G. F. Pierre fondeux G. M. josette chapart.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. G. M. ×
Pierre fondeux.

148.

8. August, 1763, Ba. Antoine, S. Joseph & Suzanne, Indian slaves of Mr. Crepeau. G. F. Jean Antoine Deni. G. M. Angelique racine.

jul Devernai jesuite

Jean Antoine Denit.
Sa. Vincent Ma. × G. M.

149.

19. September, 1763, Ba. helene Da. joseph Castin [?] & Angelique Lafleur. G. F. J. Bte . . . . . G. M. helene . . . . . jul: Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

150.

22 September, 1763 Ba. Antoine, S. Antoine Bordeleau & Catherine Coder. G. F. Jean Bte St. Aubin G. M. Genevieve du Devoir. jul Devernay Jesuit

Jean Bte St. Aubin
Ma. × G. M.

151.

24. September, 1763. Ba. Cecile leg. S. Alexis Lequir dit la Deroute & Agathe Campo. G. F. Hypolite Ballan. G. M. Angelique Racine jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

152.

3 October, 1763, Ba. Jean Pierre S. Marie Anne Indian woman belonging to Madame Roy. G. F. Michel Desi G. M. Barbe Boneau. jul Devernai. jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. F.

153.

3. October, 1763, Ba. Antoine leg. S. Antoine Lefevre & Marie Louise Caron. G. F. Jean Bt. Racine. G. M. Louise perthuis. Jul: Devernai Jesuite

jean batis racine
Ma. × G. M. Louise perthuis.

[44] 154.

8 October, 1763, Ba. Genevieve leg. Da Jean Bte Cardinal & Marie Anne. G. F. Piere Rog. G. M. Genevieve du Devoir jul: Devernai Jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Ma. × G. M.

155.

11 October, 1763, supplied ceremonies over Gabriel Gauder leg. S. Pierre Gauder & Marianne Bollon. Bo. 7 September 1763. G. F. Gabriel bollon. G. M. Marie Louis Gauder. jul Devernai Jesuite

Gabriel baullon
Ma. × G. M.

156.

12. October, 1763, Ba. Marie Joseph quesnel leg. Da. Jacques Philipp Quesnel & Marguerite de la Durantais Bo. 27 february 1762. G. F. Jean Antoine Denis. G. M. Marie [Dur] antais.

Jul: Devernai jesuite

Jean Antoine Donys
Ma. × G. M.

157.

13 [or 23] October Ba. [1763] Marie Louis racine leg. S. Bo. same day. Jean Bte racine & [Jeanne Du Devoir Marie Anne G. F. Pierre Joseph (paula) G. M. Catherine [wife of] Jean Baptiste sans peur.

jul. Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F. Ma. × G. M.

158.

Same day and same year, Ba. Agate racine Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. racine & Jeanne du Devoir. G. F. Pierre Londrieux G. M. Angelique racine.

Jul. Devernai jesuite

Pierre Landriex
Ma. × G. M.

159.

24. October, 1763, Ba. Marie Jacque Edeline leg Da. Louis Edeline & Marie thomas. G. F. Joseph Chabot G. M. Marie Louise Denis

Jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. × G. F.
Marie Louise Denis

160.

[45]
23 November 1765, Ba. L. michel bordeleau leg. S. Bordeleau & Catherine Caron. G. F. Michel Non G. M. Louise Clermont.

Phillibert.

161.

8 January, 1766. Ba. L. Pierre. Bo. 8. leg. S. joseph La feuillade & Marianne Emelin. G. F. the one called St. Homer Languedau. G. M. Marianne St. Germain.

Phillibert.

162.

9. November, 1766. Ba. L. Jean Bte Bo. 9. leg. S. Jean Bte Cardinal & Marie Mallet. G. F. francois thibault. G. M. Marie Lafleur.
thibeaux Phillibert.

163.

25. January, 1766, Ba. L. Pierre Bo. 25. leg. S. Jean Bte. St. Aubin & Louise Denis. G. F. pierre tomisier. G. M. Marie Crepeau

Tomisier

Phillibert Jean Baptist St. Aubin

164.

20 February, 1766, Ba. L. a little negro girl belonging to Des Lauriers. Bo. 20. illeg. Da. of Josette a slave of the aforesaid Sieur. G. F. Rene Langlais. G. M. Marie josette Metayer: she was named marie joseph

Phillibert.

165.

[46]

3. March, 1766, Ba. L. Francois Bo. 2 leg. S. Louis Boyer & Marie Anne Coder: G. F. Sieur Francois Perthuis. G. M. demoiselle francoise outelas, widow of deceased Messire Antoine de Droue de Richarville

francoise outelas

Perthuis Phillibert.

166.

June, 1766. Ba. L. Marie Joseph. leg. child Réné Coder. G. F. Alexis la Deroute. G. M. Marie joseph peltier.

Rene Goder Phillibert.

167.

2. August, 1766. Ba. L. Charle Laubert leg. S. francois barais & Catherine Cecil. G. F. Alexis la deroute. G. M. Louise bauvon wife of Clermont.

Phillibert.

168.

The same day after noon. Ba. L. leg. child Pierre queher & Marie joseph Peltier. G. F. Charle Rousseaux. G. M. Marie josete Richard.

Phillibert.

169.

4. August 1766, Ba. L. Pierre. illeg. child of a slave belonging to boneau. G. F. Pierre peron. G. M. Angelique jilbert.

Phillibert.

170.

[47]

17. August, 1766, Ba. L. francoise Genevieve, leg. Da. Alexis Lequin La Deroute & Agathe Campeau. G. F. Francois Nonneau de Monconseil. G. M. Genevieve boneau.

Nonneau de Monconseil

Phillibert.

171.

19. August, 1766, Ba. L. Nicolas leg. S. Charles boneau & Genevieve Du Devoir. G. F. Nicolas St. Jean. G. M. Genevieve boneau

Phillibert.

172.

4. September, 1766, Ba. L. Heleine, leg. Da. Joseph Drauen & Marie Charlotte Campos. G. F. Joseph Ninville. G. M. Heleine Lalemend.

Phillibert.

173.

17. September, 1766, Ba. L. Elisabeth. leg. Da. Antoine barada & Marguerite Dutremble. G. F. the Sieur francois Nonneau de Monconseile. G. M. Elisabeth beauvais

Nonneau de Monconseil

barada Phillibert.

174.

21. October, 1766, Ba. L. genevieve leg. Da. Jean Bapt. Petit Milhomme. & Marie joseph paupar. G. F. jean francois [larinte?] G. M. jeneviev boneau

Milhomme

Phillibert.

175.

[48]

4. November, 1766, Ba. L. Agnes leg. Da. Louis renaud laclene & barbe levron: G. F. Joseph Levron. G. M. Marianne la Decouverte widow of La pointe.

Phillibert.

175 bis.

13. November, 1766, Ba. L. joseph natural S. Joseph Le Mieux & Lizette, slave of Alexis La Dervoute. G. F. francois trudel G. M. josette jilbert.

Phillibert.

176.

6. December, 1766, Ba. L. Marie joseph Bo. 6. leg. child Nicola Cardinal & Marie joseph jilbert. G. F. Jean Chabau. G. M. Marianne Malet.

Phillibert.

177.

26. December, 1766, Ba. L. Marie joseph Bo. 25. leg. child. Nicola thibault & Marie Aimable St. Aubin. G. F. joseph St. Aubin G. M. Juliet Cuerie: Grandfather and grandmother.

Nicola thibau Phillibert.

178.

31. December, 1766. Ba. L. Marie Louise Bo. 31. leg. Da. Guillaume Duprond & Marie Louise Clermond. G. F. Alexis la Deroute. G. M. Marie Louise Clermond. grandmother of the child.

Guilliaum Duperond

Phillibert.

179.

[49]

9. January, 1767. Ba. L. Jean Louis. leg. S. Louis Edeline & Marie thomas. G. F. Jean Bte. Du Rier. G. M. Demoiselle francoise Drouet.

L. Edeline

Phillibert.

180.

6. March, 1767, Ba. L. Marie Joseph. leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. Raivalie. & Marie francois Sovele. G. F. Pierre Grimard G. M. Marie Joseph Davis.

Pierre Grimard

Phillibert.

181.

1. April, 1767, Ba. L. Genevieve leg. Da. Pierre Goder & Suzanne baulon. G. F. Hipolite baulon. G. M. Genevieve boneau

pier Goder

Phillibert.

182.

22 May, 1767. Ba. L. André. S. Jean Bapt. Racine & Jeanne Dudevoir. leg. G. F. Jean Binet G. M. Marie Jenevieve boneau

Janbatis rasint

Phillibert.

183.

5. June, 1767. Ba. L. Antoine bordeleau & Catherine Caron. G. F. jebte. Peron. G. M. heleine Lalement.

Phillibert.

184.

27. June, 1767, Ba. L. Celeste. leg. child Jean Bte. Cardinal & Marianne Malet. G. F. Michel Ditz. G. M. Anne du Devoir.

Phillibert.

185.

[50]

20. July, 1767, Ba. L. Bo. 20. leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte Durbain & Marianne des Hétues. G. F. Svaulais Xavier des hetues. G. M. Marie Louise Caron.

Phillibert.

186.

1767. Ba. L. Jean Bte. leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte pointevin Phillibert apprauné & gèneviéve Peron. G. F. pierre peron grandfather. G. M. Marie Louise Caron. Bo. 13. August.

Phillibert.

187.

1767. Ba. L. Genevieve. leg. marriage bet. Pierre Cour Noyer & Angelique Racine. G. F. Etienne Phillibert. G. M. Genevieve du Devoir. [Bo.] 22. August.

Phillibert.

188.

1767 [. . . . .] Magdeleine. Bo. 12. Sept. leg. marriage bet. jille jilbert & josette Haeao[?]. G. F. Joseph boas. G. M. Magdeleine Vodry.

Phillibert.

189.

28. October, 1767. Ba. L. Marguerite, natural Da. honoré Danis & Louise butos: G. F. Sieur Jean Bte. Riday dit Bosseron. G. M. Marian Chikamikag.

J. B. Ridday,

Phillibert.

[51] 190.

26. December 1767. Ba. L. Angelique. leg. marriage bet. jacque bisone & Angelique Lafleur. G. F. françois Lefleur her uncle, G. M. Marie joseph Girard.

Phillibert.

191.

3. January, 1768, Ba. L. Catherine. Leg. Marriage. francois beauvais & Catherine Cecile. G. F. Sieur francois Perthuis. G. M. Demoiselle francoise Drouet de Richardville.

Perthuis.

Phillibert.

192.

1768. Ba. L. jean. leg. marriage bet. Joseph Caron and josette Quitos. G. F. Jean Chabot. G. M. Marie Chein, wife of Nicholas Chapau. 3. January 1768.

Phillibert.

193.

8. February, 1768. Ba. L. Celeste, leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. St. Aubin & Marie Louise Denis. G. F. Sieur francois Nonnau. G. M. Marie Barbe Bonau.

Nonneau de Nonconseil.

janot H Aubin

Phillibert.

194.

1768. Ba. L. marguerite. leg. marriage bet. francois Coder & Marguerite Chapau. G. F. Nicolas Chapaut. G. M. Agnés Boyer. Bo. 20. March, 1768.

francois Goderre

Phillibert.

195.

[52]

16. May, 1768, Ba. L. Marie joseph Bo. 16. clandestine marriage bet. Louis Renault ladene & barbe devron. G. F. Jean Bte. Vaudry. G. M. Marie Joseph Amable.

Marie joseph Amable.

Phillibert.

196.

26. June, 1768, Ba. L. Bo. 26. leg. marriage bet. Alexis Leguin dit La Derute & Agath Campau. Jean Bte. Durand. G. M. Marie Barbe Boneau.

J. B. Durant

Phillibert.

197.

5 July, 1768, Ba. L. Archange Bo. 5. leg. marriage bet. Rene Coder & Catherine Campau. G. F. Jbte. Vaudry. G. M. Marie Louise Caron.

Phillibert.

198.

18 July, 1768, Ba. L. Marie Joseph. Bo. 18. leg. marriage bet. joseph Drouen & Charlote Campau. G. F. Pierre boquet. G. M. jeanne Cardinal.

Phillibert.

199.

20. September, 1768. Ba. L. Marguerite. leg. marriage bet. Louis Courtin & Angelique Monty. G. F. Jacque Millet. G. M. Marie Lafleur.

Louis Courtin.

Phillibert.

200.

6. September. 1768. Ba. L. Bo. 6. francoise. leg. marriage bet. Pierre Quesnel & josette peltier. G. F. francois Nonneau de Monconseil. G. M. Francoise Chapart.

francoise Chapard.
Nonneau de Monconseil.

Phillibert.

END OF BOOK ONE OF THE RECORDS.

201.

On a loose sheet.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty nine the 27 day of the month of april, after having published three bans between julien trottier du rivieres son of julien trottier des rivieres of the parish of Mont real and josette marié daughter of antoine marié and marie anne chicamicgé the parents ["les peres et meres"] living in this parish without their being any impediment, I the undersigned missionary of the company of jesus performing the functions of pastor have received their mutual consent of marriage and have given them the nuptial benediction, with the ceremonies prescribed by Holy Church in the presence of monsieur de St. Ange. Lieutenant of a company of detached marines Commandant at poste Vincennes, of jean Baptiste Guilbert, Toussaint Guilbert, antoine Bouchard., jean B. Ridet., Louis Gervais witnesses who have signed with me—S. L. Meurin jesuite.

St. Ange Commandant — Boucher
at poste vincén — J. B. Ridday
filliatro — Louis Gervais

This sheet has been transferred by me the undersigned.
S. L. Meurin Jes.

202.

[3]

19. October, 1753, Ba. [*blank*] bet. Louis Exepan & Marie Louise pertuis. [*blank*] G. F. francois fiatro. G. M. Marie Indian woman, wife of la framboise.

Vivier S. j.
f. filliatro

Ma. × G. M.

203.

25. October 1753. Ba. Marie Therese. Bo. leg. marriage bet. Y. Baptiste Renaud des Lauriers & Marie therese Mallet. G. F. J. B. Guilbers La framboise. G. M. therese Mallet, widow Antoine Mallet.

Vivier. S. j.

Ma. La framboise
Widow Mallet ×

204.

21. December, 1753. Ba. anne Berron Bo. 20. same month of marriage bet. Pierre Berron & Marie françoise du fournelle, G. F. antoine Guilbert S. toussaint Saint Guilbert. G. M. Anne du devoir.

Vivier S. J.

Ma. antoine Guilbert. ×
Ma. anne du Devoir. ×

205.

[4]
[*blank*] bet. Nicola [*blank*]. G. F. joseph esteuze. G. M. Marie therese Mallet.

Vivier. S. J.

Ma. Joseph Esteuze ×
Ma. Marie therese Mallet. ×

206.

21. April, 1751. Ba. Marie Da. petit Chis & moukicoule married in the sight of the church. G. F. Julien Des rivieres G. M. Marie la framboise.

Vivier S. J. des riviere

Ma. Marie la framboise ×

207.

30. May, 1753, Ba. Agathe Da. Alexandre & Dorothée negro slaves belonging to the jesuit fathers and leg. married. G. F. j. Baptiste Ste. Marie G. M. Louise perthuis.

L. Vivier S. J.

Sent Marit Louise perthuis.

208.

18. August, 1754. Ba. Jean Baptiste Slave of Ste Marie G. F. Mr. de St. Ange Commandant for the King in this poste. G. M. therese Mallet.

Vivier S. J.
Louis St. Ange.
Veuve Mallet.

[5 *blank*]

209.

[6]
[*blank*] Caron [*blank*]
anois paque
a handoise pond une
mo Sollay———20lb
Languedoc———20lb.
]roiard la some de———25lb
reçu de Mr. deloried———20lb.
reçu de Madame Bonneau———8lb
[I copied this word for word and line for line.]

[7]

210.

[*blank*] 1754 [*blank*] slave [*blank*] de la fran [*blank*] G. F. Pierre Perthuis. G. M. Anne [de de] voir.

Vivier S. J.
pierre perthuis

211.

[*blank*] 6 November 1754, Ba. Jean Baptiste Bo. leg [mar]riage bet. Jean Baptiste Regnaud des Laurieres & Marie therese [M]allet. G. F. Louise Mallet. G. M. Marie [Cl]ere Hochleiv.

Vivier S. J.

Ma. Louise Mallet. ×
Ma. Marie Claire Hochleiv. ×

212.

26. January, 1755, Ba. aimable Bo. leg. marriage bet. Pierre Perron & Marie francoise Dufourret. G. F. Joseph Estev. G. M. Catherine Carron.

L. Vivier S. J.

Ma. Joseph Esteo. ×
Ma. Catherine Carron. ×

213.

19 [*blank*] Ba. Charlotte slave of toussaint la framboise 18 years of age. G. F. Joseph Buet. G. M. Marie Magdeleine Carron.

L. Vivier S. J.

Ma. Joseph Buet. ×
Ma. Marie Magdeleine Carron. ×

(To be continued.)

REMINISCENCES.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Barbara Reuss (born in 1820).

I had no acquaintance with Bishop Conwell,* but for years I went to St. Joseph's Church from my home on Beach Street, Schuylkill. I remember very distinctly having often seen the blind bishop led to the sanctuary from the sacristy, and placed in an arm-chair during Mass. I remember his responding to the *Dominus vobiscum* of the celebrant in a loud voice, heard all over the church, *et cum spiritu tuo.* On one occasion when the bishop was ill,—it may have been a year or two before his death,—I was at St. Joseph's with a friend. We proposed to see if we could not get his blessing. On application his nurse gained permission, and we were taken to his room on the second floor, which must have been next the church; the windows looked out into the yard. I can only say that the room looked poverty stricken. The floor was covered with an old carpet, then called imported carpet; it was full of holes. There were two chairs besides an old arm-chair. He was dressed in a dressing-gown of large-figured chintz, and carpet slippers. He spoke cheerfully, talking quite a little while, and then gave us his blessing, and we left him. That was the last I saw of him until we followed his remains from St. Joseph's to the "Bishops' ground." I remember a few words spoken by Bishop Kenrick on that occasion. They were, "He was a man of stern exterior, but a good shepherd." This is all I remember of the poor old blind bishop, and I thought how hard it is to be blind. It comes back to me now since the same infirmity has overtaken me. . . .

Father Corbin, S. J., was attending the old church at Reading during the time I was living there with my parents. He came

* Right Rev. Henry Conwell, at one time Bishop of Philadelphia (1820–1842), was stricken with blindness in August, 1832. (See Reuss, *Biog. Cyclopædia*, p. 28.)

monthly from Goshenhoppen. He was a very holy man, and when speaking his voice was very high-pitched, almost like a woman's. On one occasion my younger sister Mary, quite a child, was sent to Allgeier's store, and on returning home told us that she had seen the priest there. Afterwards Mr. Allgeier told us that Father Corbin had told him on that occasion that he was going to Philadelphia to die. He was going there, he said, to say his last Mass at St. Mary's Church, and that he would die either at the altar or going from it. This was verified, as he did say his Mass in St. Mary's, and was going from there to Trinity Church with one of the priests of the latter church. He was taken sick on the way and died, as near as I can recollect from what was told me later, at Trinity pastoral house.

My father and mother, with our family, moved to Reading about the time of General Jackson's election for his second term for the Presidency. I know this from the fact of hearing an old citizen, a Mr. Jahn, crying, "Hooray for Yackson, no Yank!" The old man had been a cannoneer in the Revolution, and had become totally deaf, and having nearly lost his speech from a sort of paralysis of the tongue from the jarring noise of the cannon. It was at this time I went to church in the little old brick church built on ground given many years before by one of the Reppliers, as I understood. Mass was said for the people, mostly Germans, by Father Corbin, who came from Goshenhoppen once a month for that purpose. The principal families of note were the Reppliers, Allgeiers, and Felixes. If by chance any priest arrived and would say Mass, Mr. Allgeier would send round word of the event to all the people. On Sundays when no Mass was said the people would assemble in the little church to recite the rosary and other prayers. The Reading Railroad had their depot close by the old church, and the people were so much annoyed while at Mass by the whistling of engines and ringing of bells that they could scarcely hear the sermon. This road had levelled their grade so that the church stood about ten feet above the road-bed, and the pavement between the church and the bank was only about four feet wide, with no protection on the edge. The church

was very small. It was afterwards sold to the Reading Railroad Company when they needed room for improvements, and a new church was built. But the American and Irish Catholics were so bent on having it wholly English that the old Germans objected, and they received an amount of money that was given to them to build a church of their own, which they did. This was after I removed to Philadelphia.

A certain Father McCarthy (or MacCartney) came occasionally to Reading, from Pottsville, I think, and I recollect his coming from there to the burial of a child niece of mine, walking to the graveyard, reading the office and singing a hymn, which he continued till he reached the inside of the church on our return from the interment. He had a sweet voice, and was very sincere in his duties, neglecting nothing, as the fact of his coming a distance and performing ceremonies over the body of a dead child shows. This is rare nowadays.

Note.—Mrs. Reuss's reminiscences were taken down by her son, F. X. Reuss, December 22 and 27, 1887. She was the eldest daughter of Valentine von Rothschmidt and his wife Catherine.

Reminiscences of Father Jordan, S. J.

Father McCarthy was a secular priest who afterwards became a member of the Society of Jesus. His earliest missions were in the neighborhood of Reading and Pottsville. He was the best singer of Mass we ever had in this part of the world. He was a little man of dark, florid complexion, very careful about his dress, was very affable, and a good preacher, but had a custom of standing at the window of the sacristy, listening to the criticisms of his sermons, as the congregations dispersed. He was very much amused at hearing some persons praise him, and others condemn him. One Sunday he took occasion to mention in his sermon the criticising of the priest's sermons, and, to his amusement, after Mass many of the persons whom he had heard condemn him came to praise his sermons. He

was not stationed here long, as he was removed to the country in Maryland. He went out to the stable one night, and did not return, and when the lay brother went to look for him he found that the cow had caught him on her horns and had gored him to death.

The next priest farthest back whom I remember was the one to whom I made my first confession,—namely, Father Lopez. He was a Spaniard by birth, and had been domestic chaplain to the Imperial family of Mexico. He was with the Imperial family when the Mexicans shot Iturbide in the presence of his family. He came with the family first to Washington, and from there to Philadelphia. He was a small, dark-complexioned, very determined-looking man. He wore his hair short, and had the canonical tonsure. He was very cold and distant in all his ways. He afterwards joined the Society. He did not hear many confessions, and probably never preached here. He did no missionary work, but officiated at Mass. The ex-Empress used to interest herself very much in Catholic charities. She lived and died here. She died, I think, at the La Pierre house. Her grandson, who was born of an American mother, was afterwards adopted by Louis Napoleon as a son.

After Father Lopez had joined the Society he was Minister of Georgetown College. He was not popular, on account of his strictness. At one time the brothers and scholastics were making their eight days' retreat, and on the first day he happened to see two brothers talking during time of silence. He said nothing, but allowed them to finish with the others. On the evening of the day that they finished he sent for them to come to his room, and said, "Now, brothers, you begin your retreat to-night."

"Why, Father," they said, "we have just finished our retreat."

He answered, "Oh, no; in this Society we do not talk while making retreats." He made them make another retreat.

Father Ryder was a man remarkable for his amiability. Although he could say very sharp things, he always said them in a very pleasant manner. When he first came here his only rival as a preacher in the city was Dr. Hughes. Dr. Hughes

was pastor at St. John's. Shortly after his arrival Father Ryder began a series of Sunday afternoon lectures, and Dr. Hughes managed to be present at nearly all of them. He used to go up in the gallery. He and Father Ryder were very good friends. Dr. Hughes also had a great admiration for Father McElroy. Father Ryder drew larger congregations than any priest in the diocese. I can remember that when he would preach in warm weather, not only would the church be filled, but the quadrangle outside would be filled very uncomfortably. He had a very clear, telling voice, very distinct, so that he could be heard very well out in the yard. His sermons were all well prepared, being written out and committed to memory. His subject-matter seemed almost inexhaustible. I remember, in 1854, he began on the Sunday after the 8th of September, and continued for three months, till the Sunday after the 8th of December, preaching every Sunday on the Blessed Virgin; while you would think every Sunday that he had exhausted the subject, the sermon on the following Sunday was, if possible, even better. His style was chaste, with no clap-trap about it. He was an excellent theologian and philosopher. He was rather small and not very stout, with an open, jovial kind of countenance. His hair was long, flowing, and somewhat curly. He was always careful about his dress and refined in his ways and speech. He associated a great deal with the higher officials in Washington, and had great influence with them. It was he that obtained the ambassadorship for Joseph R. Chandler under Buchanan. He died before the Civil War. He was always as gentlemanly in his ways with the poor as with the rich, though he mostly associated with the wealthy classes. I do not think that he could have ever been impolite to any one.

Father McElroy was a man of real sterling principles. He had not studied very much, he had originally been a lay brother. One of the scholastics overheard his instructions to a catechism class, and called the attention of the superior to them, and Father McElroy was given short studies, and ordained. He was, perhaps, the only Jesuit of the time whose name will go down to history on account of his being chaplain in the United States army during the Mexican War. In his early

days he was a man of great natural cleverness. His sermons were always effective, but they were by no means rhetorical. He did a great deal for the Society. He built, at Frederick, Indiana, a very handsome church, St. John's, the first church in this country that was consecrated. He also built a college and convent. One time he was addressing the congregation, telling them how well they were off,—they had such a magnificent church, fine college, and a convent school for their *female daughters!* When he was transferred to Boston, he became a leading spirit there among the clergy. With money raised from his own congregation of St. Mary's he bought the land on which now stands the college and church of the Immaculate Conception. It was the first Catholic college in New England, and its congregation is the leading congregation of Boston. Everything has succeeded with it so far. Father McElroy collected the money, bought the land, and built the college. He was a great friend of Archbishop Hughes, and when the latter was dying he had Father McElroy telegraphed for, and he was present at the death-bed. Father McElroy was ninety-six years of age when he died, and had he not met with an accident by which he broke some ribs, he would probably have lived to be over a hundred. Three times it was desired to make him bishop, but he managed to escape it, through the Father-General. They also wished to make Father Ryder bishop, but he got off through the intercession of the Father-General. Father McElroy was a tall, wiry, thin, red-faced man with large features and white hair (originally dark). He had a big mouth, and spoke with a nasal twang, but slowly and distinctly. He was a north of Ireland man.

BY-PATHS OF HISTORY.

Old Times in the Colonies (continued).

The present paper is not meant as a refutation of Mr. Coffin's vagaries. These are so typical, however, of a large class of writers, that I find it convenient to make his book a text for some observations which may serve to point a moral.

IV. Jesuits!

John Oliver Hobbes, in her "School for Saints," gives (p. 176) an interesting picture of an election scene in England. Robert Orange, a convert to Catholicity, is addressing the electors, who are divided into factions,—the "blue doves" for the Liberals; the "yellow doves" for Mr. Vandeleur, the Conservative candidate. Robert Orange is also a candidate, unknown as a politician until he appears on the hustings:

"His fine athletic figure, his plain dress, his whole appearance was that of an English gentleman of the true school. They waited anxiously for the sound of his voice. Vegetables and eggs were held in readiness for the first imperfection in language. [He had been described in the local prints of his opponents as a foreigner.] He came forward. His countenance was eminently pleasing, and his manner was unaffected. He spoke with some nervousness, but in language as clear and simple as though, to quote a contemporary, he had been addressing the very flower of Europe, or a Vatican council. He was allowed to continue for some minutes without interruption, till one of the 'yellow doves,' at a glance from Mr. Vandeleur, raised the cry of 'Jesuit!' This was enough. The groans, hisses, and hoots—for the temporary lull—recommenced with double vigor. Heads were smashed. Robert himself was pelted with garbage. Gross things were said of the papacy and the priesthood. The note of blasphemy was not wanting. That fatal cry of 'Jesuit!' had worked, so it seemed, irretrievable harm. 'Blue' attacked 'blue' and 'yellow' turned against 'yellow.' Bruised ears, battered noses, blackened eyes, swollen cheeks, and cracked teeth were perhaps the worst outward signs of the struggle. A constable had his arm broken, and a priest—who had rashly ventured into the crowd—

suffered from a dislocated shoulder. A child was killed, a woman carrying an infant was knocked down, but the rest escaped lightly. The scene, however, became so wild that the Riot Act was read, and the mounted police were permitted some rough riding."

The Gordon riots warn us that this scene is fiction founded on fact. Ignorant or deluded Protestants of all classes and shades of belief or unbelief are as the powder magazine which may be exploded at any time by some foolish or fanatical person who is willing to throw into it the firebrand-cry of "Jesuits!"

The series of "Jesuit Relations," in some sixty-eight volumes, is nearly finished. It will go into libraries, but it will not be read by those whom it most concerns. Mr. Coffin's book will still be read. It is recommended for reading in the public schools, by their superintendent, Mr. Brooks. What, then, has Mr. Coffin to tell us about them? He indulges in the usual lofty rhetoric in describing their incomparable missionary zeal in all the waste places of earth. In this connection we are treated to such phrases as "deserts of Africa," "jungles of India," "steppes of Asia," "banks of the Amazon," "peaks of the Andes." They are, indeed, everywhere. Their courage, privations, sufferings, patience, are but a copy of those features which St. Paul declared, in glowing terms, to have characterized his own missionary travels. As Mr. Coffin remarks, the Jesuits are

"to die of hunger, thirst, cold or heat, disease or violence, to labor without reward except that which the Virgin Mary [here beginneth the lamentation of Mr. Coffin] would extend to them, through their sacrifices to save souls from the clutches of the devil." (P. 49.)

The well-known motto of the Society of Jesus is, "Unto the greater glory of God." I presume Mr. Coffin has detected the "Jesuitry" of the motto. For, as it now seems, they do not look to God for their reward, but to "the Virgin Mary." It was a skilful stroke of Mr. Coffin's, to set things straight before descending from his "peaks of the Andes" to encounter the Jesuits in the plain walks of daily life. The sublimities of Jesuitical self-sacrifice are idolatrous extravagances, after all; and we accordingly become prepared for the more minute and

detailed analysis which Mr. Coffin gives of the methods employed by the Jesuits to achieve their end. He continues (p. 50):

"They were to persuade men where persuasion was available; employ force where force was possible. It was their province to spy out the actions of men,—meddle in all their affairs; fathom the secrets of human hearts; interfere in households, in cabinets, in halls of justice and legislation; set father against son, and son against father; stir up strife between husband and wife, mother and daughter. All earthly relations, all human considerations, all the ties which men deem sacred, were subordinated to the idea that baptism into the Church was of more value than anything else; that they were commanded by the Virgin to rescue men from perdition.

"To bring about that end any means were justifiable. Each member was to watch every other member; report their faithfulness or unfaithfulness. They had one watchword,—Obedience. With a zeal such as the world had never before witnessed the Jesuits went forth upon their missions. Their history is interwoven with that of every nation, a record of self-denial, hardship, suffering, martyrdom, of burning zeal, fiery energy, tireless activity, unquenchable ardor; of religious devotion, worldly wisdom, benevolence, and charity; deceit, falsehood, hypocrisy, cruelty, and despotism. If they have been charitable and kind, they have also blackened history by the darkest of crimes. If they have lifted men to higher and nobler lives, they have also sent myriads to prisons and burnt hundreds of thousands at the stake. Time has not quenched their zeal, and though three hundred and fifty years have passed since their organization, they are still making their power felt in every country, controlling the consciences and actions of men.

"The tomahawk and scalping-knife at the bidding of the Jesuits will do bloody work from the Penobscot to the Ohio, and the lurid light of burning dwellings will illumine the midnight sky. Men, women, and children will pass through the gloomy wilderness, from their ruined homes on the banks of the Merrimac and Connecticut, to Quebec and Montreal to be sold into slavery. The old and young, the strong and weak, will redden the snows of winter with their blood. It was the disappointment of Ignatius Loyola in love and the firing of a cannon at Pampeluna that started this crimson stream."

They are certainly a curious body of men, these Jesuits! "The members of the society went forth to convert the world," remarks Mr. Coffin. In this fact they resemble the apostles. They went forth, he says, "to thread the jungles of India, traverse the deserts of Africa and the steppes of Asia; uphold

the Cross on the banks of the Amazon, and plant it upon the peaks of the Andes." Again they resemble the apostles, whom the Master who had died on the Cross commissioned to preach that Cross in "the uttermost parts of the earth." Whether we look at the name of their Society—"The Company of Jesus"—or look at the shorter title by which they are commonly known, —"Jesuits,"—we notice that it includes the Sacred Name of the Saviour. And in this we are made aware of another striking resemblance between their fate and that of the apostles, to whom Christ said, "You shall be hated by all men for my NAME'S sake." They have, indeed, been persecuted and hated, in every land, for that NAME'S sake. "But have confidence," said Christ, "I have overcome the world." And, in truth, the Jesuits did manage, somehow or other, to achieve that "victory which overcometh the world." Finally, the Jesuits seem to be still thriving in the quiet way peculiar to self-sacrifice.

Mr. Coffin, in contrasting so vividly their high ideals, their zeal, their privations, and their awful patience, with the horrible things he lays at their door, presents us with a marvel more astonishing even than their resemblance to the apostles. "How in the world do they manage to get along?" we are forced to ask. What motive prompts any Jesuit to "leave all things" (like the apostles), and to leave them for the purpose of "enduring all things" (again like the apostles), in order to load his soul down with a perfect mass of iniquities which can only purchase an everlasting damnation deeper and deeper in hell in proportion to the time he spent on this earth in self-denial and patience? I presume that Mr. Coffin would answer, "Fanaticism." Gibbon's famous five reasons for the success of Christianity, illogical as they are, are yet more reasonable than the answer, "Fanaticism." If we apply here the test proposed by Christ, "By their fruits ye shall know them," what do we find? Mr. Coffin has shown us the charity, joy, peace, self-denial, etc., of the Jesuits. St. Paul sticks to the test proposed, and enumerates the fruits of the Spirit of God, which are, he declares, "charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, mildness, faith, modesty, continence, chastity" (Gal. v. 22, 23). All

these are the persistent fruits of "Jesuitical" activity as they are the ear-marks of all Jesuit writing and living. Do people gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Can we then believe the horrors asserted by Mr. Coffin as possible fruits of such a good tree? Mr. Coffin, of course, can not bring forward a scintilla of proof to illustrate his gross charges. Neither shall I pretend to add anything in defence of a body of men who, like their Master, have remained silent in the hall of Pilate, but whose vindication has been achieved by other pens and voices than theirs—for their silence would make the very stones cry out. But, in order to compare the judgments of revilers like Mr. Coffin (who doubtless never read a line of Jesuit writing, never held converse with, and perhaps never even saw, a Jesuit) with defenders like Mr. Marshall (who, having despised, began to admire and love them after he had read their authentic history and held converse with them and witnessed their lives), I shall make space here for an extract from "My Clerical Friends" (p. 206):

"There had been a time when the Jesuits were to me, fed from childhood upon fables and fictions, what they still are to most of my countrymen. No lessons sink deeper into the heart than those which we derive from early associations, and none resist more violently the process of ejection. But I had investigated, before I left England, with all the care which I could employ, the authentic history of the Society of Jesus. Since that date I have known its members in many lands, and have been honored, during a quarter of a century, with their intimate friendship. . . . It seems to me that, after such ample experience, I am at least better qualified to judge them, however feeble my powers of discernment or discrimination may be, than men who have never conversed with them at all, and have known them only by the slanderous tongue of rumor. The Bishop of Liège observed, during the Vatican Council, alluding to the prelates who opposed the definition: 'What sort of apostles are these, who come to us *with an escort of all the enemies of the Name of Jesus?*' The argument, which was felt by many to be decisive, applies with equal force to the Jesuits. All that is base in this world—the impious, the impure, the seditious, the false brethren, and the worldly-wise—suspect or hate them. It is impossible to misinterpret this agreement of the agents of the evil one. He does not waste his forces. If he incessantly stimulates heretics, infidels, and all who follow his banner, to rage against the Society of Jesus, it is probably because he recognizes in it an adversary."

But there is an opposition to the Society of Jesus which is not that of false principles, but rather of false information or ignorant presumption. Of this opposition Mr. Marshall says (p. 208),—

"No such conscious policy, it is true, animates the mass of those who revile and fear the Jesuits, without knowing anything about them. It is only a blundering and unintelligent animosity which such men cherish. The human animal is perhaps never so maudlin and irrational as when he raves against the Jesuits. In his periodical vociferations, the mind has no more part than it had in the old cry of the heathen, *'Christianos ad leones.'* He knows no more about the Jesuits than the satellites of a Roman prefect knew about St. Polycarp or St. Cyprian. He is no better qualified to judge them than he is to command an army or to prove the lunar theory. He knows that they teach what he ignorantly dislikes, and that is all. Human antipathies have often no other foundation."

I should like to quote the whole glowing tribute of Paul Féval, who at last learned to pray where of old he had scoffed. But I conclude merely with the text placed by him at the head of his work entitled "Jesuits!" It will serve as an answer to the question, Why are the Jesuits reviled and persecuted?

"They knelt down and Ignatius prayed thus: 'O God! grant that the house of thy servants may be built not for themselves alone, but for others, so that, having given their life for the salvation of men in Jesus Christ, *they may never cease to be persecuted* for thy greater glory, who livest and reignest, world without end. Amen.' And having made the sign of the cross, they arose."

V. Tobacco.

Apparently, Mr. Coffin reckons tobacco among the "Forces of Civilization." Under this heading, at all events, he treats us to a short disquisition on its great vogue:

"King James I. hated tobacco, and wrote a book against its use. Pope Urban VIII. and Innocent XI. issued bulls against smoking. The priests of the Mohammedan religion cried out against it, and the sultan, Amurat IV., cut off the noses of those that used it. Vain prohibition! The love for tobacco increased. All nations acquired the habit of smoking."

This short account has succeeded in making me a student of tobacco; to the slight extent, at least, of consulting some handy books of reference. My studies in this direction have led me to surmise that Mr. Coffin is indebted to "Chambers's Encyclopedia" for his information. In the edition of 1878 of that invaluable work, I find:

"The popes Urban VIII. and Innocent XI. fulminated against it the thunders of the church; the priests and sultans of Turkey declared smoking a crime, Sultan Amurat IV. decreeing its punishment by the most cruel kinds of death; the pipes of smokers were thrust through their noses in Turkey; and in Russia the noses of smokers were cut off in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. King James I. of England issued a 'Counterblaste to Tobacco,' in which he described its use as 'a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.' All opposition, however, was in vain. The use of tobacco increased."

Read Mr. Coffin once more, dear reader, and you will be struck by the great similarity of these two extracts. Of course, he has managed to get things mixed a little, as is his wont; but substantially he has extracted faithfully.

The "Brittanica" says,—

"During the seventeenth century the indulgence in tobacco spread with marvellous rapidity throughout all nations, and that in the face of the most resolute opposition of statesmen and priests, the 'counterblaste' of a great monarch, penal enactments of the most severe description, the knout, excommunication, and capital punishment."

It should not be surprising that, amidst such universal execration of tobacco by the sovereigns of the world, the popes had thought it expedient to utter, in the manner open to them, a strong declaration against it.

Had they chosen to excommunicate all smokers they would have been supported by the notables mentioned in my extracts, by the large sanction of physicians, and in our own day by a still larger public to which tobacco in any form is repellent from a sensitiveness sometimes physical, sometimes sentimental. But if, as subsequent events have shown, the popes had "fulminated

thunders" unwisely in this matter, it goes without saying that their prerogative of infallibility would not have been entrenched upon or endangered. Still, a Catholic does not like to feel that the popes have been arbitrary, even in the slightest degree, in the use of their disciplinary powers. Looking through the encyclopædias, I have been struck with the varying treatments accorded to the "excommunication" issued against tobacco-users. Chambers's (edition of 1878) speaks of Urban VIII. and Innocent XI. as having "fulminated against it [tobacco] the thunders of the church." The edition of 1897 uses less picturesque language. It quietly says that "Pope Urban VIII. and Innocent XI. issued decrees." Johnson's (edition of 1878) restricts the thing to but one of these two popes. It says, "Pope Urban VIII. issued a bull excommunicating those who should use tobacco *in churches.*" I have italicized the last phrase. It is short and unpretentious; but what a flood of light it throws on this excommunication "fulminated" against tobacco! It now seems that the popes have dwindled to one; and, furthermore, that the decree was not directed against tobacco, but against its profane use in the House of God! Johnson's (edition of 1897) says nothing *in re.* One more encyclopædia, and I have done with them for the present. Notice the family resemblance displayed by the "Encyclopédie du XIXe Siècle" (1877). Amurat IV., the Russian Czar, the Persian Shah, the Pope, and James I., all appear:

"Amurat IV., empéreur des Turcs, le tzar de Moscovie Boris et le shah de Perse en défendirent l'usage à leurs sujets sous les peines les plus sévères. Les contrevenants avaient le nez coupé. . . . La récidive entraînait la peine de mort. Le pape Urbain IV. [*sic*] ne se montra pas moins ennemi du tabac. Par une bulle, datée de 1604 [*sic*] il excommunia tous ceux qui prisaient dans l'église. Enfin Jacques, premier roi d'Angleterre, ne dédaigna pas d'écrire tout un traité contre la pernicieuse plante. Mais, vains efforts; les édits, les ukases, les bulles et les brochures furent impuissant et le tabac ne tarda pas à régner partout en maître."

M. Gaston de Tayac, the author of the above cited words, has managed to mix up dates and names in a bewildering fashion. "Urbain IV." for Urban VIII. might be considered

a misprint. But even thus considered, it will not explain the date assigned. Urban IV. died in the year 1264; Urban VIII. began his reign in 1623. How does M. de Tayac get his date "1604"? Is it not likely that he had in mind the "Counterblaste" of James I., published in 1604? But what a maze of variations in the encyclopædias!

What are the facts? The trouble I have taken to look the matter up in the "Magnum Bullarium Romanum" has been well repaid. This I have done, not because the whole question of tobacco has anything to do with faith or morals, but because a recourse to original sources is nearly always advisable in the study of history. The lesson to be derived from a comparison of Coffins and encyclopædias with the decree they bandy so lightly and misstate so jauntily, is highly instructive. In the "Bullarium" the document is assigned to the year 1642. Urban VIII., at the solicitation of the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Seville, issued a Bull empowering his nuncio in Spain to publish, when and where he might see fit, the papal excommunication against any person who should use tobacco in any form within the precincts of any church in the city and diocese of Seville. The Pope did not "fulminate the thunders of the church" against tobacco, but against the alleged profanation of *some* churches of *one* city and diocese,—namely, Seville. But why Seville? The reason is given in the Bull, which recites the allegations of the Pope's petitioners, to the effect that the custom of "taking tobacco" had, in some churches of that city, penetrated even to the sanctuary, to the disgust of all decent people.

Will not my readers pardon me for this long dissertation, in view of its important lessons? Tobacco has not been the issue presented to us, but the misleading statements of popular historians and even encyclopædias. If Superintendent Brooks should issue a decree against truant school-boys, he may reasonably look to have it quoted against him, some day or other, as a condemnation of public schools. And I have grave reason to fear that this little critique of mine, if it should be honored by the perusal of future historians, will be referred to as an obscurantist declaration against the study of history.

VI. Furs and Feudalism.

Mr. Coffin discusses furs and feudalism and "the religion of Rome" as follows (p. 43):

> "Canada was settled by emigrants from France, through this demand for furs, planting on the St. Lawrence the religion of Rome and the ideas of the feudal age, that allowed the people no rights, nor any voice in the government."

Mr. Coffin cannot get rid of "the religion of Rome." It was planted in America by Columbus; was preached north, south, east, and west by Catholic priests,—monks, "Jesuits," bishops,—whose only aim was to bring the glad tidings to them that sat in darkness and in the valley of the shadow of death, that they might wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb. Mr. Coffin can not escape from the cloud of witnesses to this great American fact. He can, however, dexterously insinuate many things, and treat that fact as a sad and forbidding thing.

There are some interesting facts connected with the French settlement of New France. For instance, the Huguenot enterprises, their hostility to the Jesuit missionaries, etc. I quote from Mr. Thwaite's Introduction to his series of "Jesuit Relations" (vol. i. p. 5):

> "Missionaries came early upon the scene. With the Calvinist De Monts were Huguenot ministers for the benefit of the settlers, and Catholic priests to open a mission among the savages, for the court had stipulated with him that the latter were to be instructed only in the faith of Rome. But no missionary work was done, for the colony was through several years on the verge of dissolution, and the priests became victims of scurvy. Poutrincourt, who held under De Monts the patent for Port Royal, did nothing to further the purposes of the court in this regard, until 1610; when, admonished for his neglect, he brought out with him a secular priest, Messire Jesse Fleché. . . . On the 12th of June, 1611, there arrived on the scene at Port Royal, at the instance of King Henry IV., two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé. They were, however, not favorably received by Poutrincourt and his followers."

The Huguenots had their own ministers, while the Jesuits must confine themselves to the savages. The two Jesuits were

joined, in the spring of 1613, by another Father and a lay brother, and the little band "established themselves at the new French colony on Mt. Desert Island." This little missionary station was surprised and plundered by the Virginian Argal. I hear no shrieks from Coffin, Bancroft, or any other Protestant historian at this point; for Argal was a good Protestant. I therefore quote Dr. Shea ("The Catholic Church in Colonial Days," p. 222):

"An unprovoked attack by men pretending to be Christians on a mission established for the conversion of the heathen, followed by bloodshed and indiscriminate plunder, has no parallel in history. Virginia shares the infamy by endorsing Argal's action. . . .

"Argal put Father Massé and fourteen Frenchmen in a small craft and turned them adrift; Fathers Biard and Quentin were carried to Virginia, then ruled by a code of blood, where Sir Thomas Dale threatened to hang all the prisoners."

If I find leisure, I think I shall be sorely tempted to compile a companion volume to that of Mr. Coffin; and I must entitle it "High Old Times in the Colonies." I could make it very much more lurid than Mr. Coffin's "Old Times in the Colonies," and deal only with well-established facts in my compilation. But who would read it?

Mr. Coffin speaks of "the ideas of the feudal age, that allowed the people no rights, nor any voice in the government." The world has progressed beyond that state of subjection. But why was the settlement on the St. Lawrence, rather than the French Calvinist settlement at Port Royal in Acadie, picked out for this animadversion on the feudal age? Let me quote what Mr. Morris, in his school "History of the United States," has to say in this matter of civil liberty, about the Protestant colony of Virginia (p. 70):

"System of Government.—Up to 1619 the colonists were virtually slaves. They had no voice in their own government, but were ruled absolutely by a council which was ruled by the king. When governors came, beginning with Lord Delaware, they had arbitrary power, and used it in an arbitrary fashion. They made what laws they pleased, and forced the people to work for the benefit of the company."

Was feudalism worse than this? Was there on the St. Lawrence a condition like that which Bancroft describes as finding a scope in Virginia? He says (vol. i., chapter v.),—

"Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued; men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even three-score pounds. The supply of white servants became a regular business; and a class of men, nicknamed spirits, used to delude young persons, servants, and idlers, into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty. White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair. So usual was this manner of dealing in Englishmen, that not the Scots only, who were taken in the field of Dunbar, were sent into involuntary servitude in New England, but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester, and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddoc, in spite of the remonstrance of Haselrig and Henry Vane, were shipped to America. At the corresponding period, in Ireland, the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the usual atrocities of the African slave-trade."

All this is very lovely reading. It compares nicely with the feudal ideas that were planted on the St. Lawrence.

VII. Jesuits! (once more).

Mr. Coffin devotes a long chapter to witches. I am seriously afraid that, despite his vehement denunciation of the old belief in witchcraft, he is himself a victim of uncanny influences. The wizards or witches in this case are the Jesuits. In the index to his volume his references to persons and topics are almost universally absolved in a single line. Even his beloved Huguenots have not more. But the Jesuits have no less than eleven lines! He is certainly bewitched. He dreams o' nights of their machinations, and wakens to record these in his veracious narrative. Plottings, bigotry, rapine, arson, murder, —what crime in the two Tables is omitted? I cannot follow

him in refutation; I am really not writing a book. I shall give many illustrations from his book without comment, but I shall preface them now with a few remarks.

Mr. Coffin's book is but symbolic of the well-nigh universal tone of English literature when it deals, directly or indirectly, with this matter. What I have just said is not a sensitive declaration made by a "born" Catholic, but is the simple truth asserted by John Henry Newman, who could review his experience as a Protestant, and who, in his lectures on the "Present Position of Catholics in England," has summarized the Protestant tradition in his own luminous and interesting style. These lectures are easily accessible; but recalling Dr. Maitland's warning, I do venture to quote from them, expecting indulgence (and, mayhap, gratitude for lessening the labor of my readers). Newman says,—

"If there be any set of men in the whole world who are railed against as the pattern of all that is evil, it is the Jesuit body. It is vain to ask their slanderers what they know of them; did they ever see a Jesuit? can they say whether there are many or few? what do they know of their teaching? 'Oh, it is quite *notorious*,' they reply; 'you might as well deny the sun in heaven; it is notorious that Jesuits are a crafty, intriguing, unscrupulous, desperate, murderous, and exceedingly able body of men; a secret society, ever plotting against liberty, and government, and progress, and thought, and the prosperity of England. Nay, it is awful; they disguise themselves in a thousand shapes, as men of fashion, farmers, soldiers, laborers, butchers, and pedlers; they prowl about with handsome stocks, and stylish waistcoats, and gold chains about their persons, or in fustian jackets, as the case may be; and they do not hesitate to shed the blood of any one whatever, prince or peasant, who stands in their way.'"

Newman speaks with knowledge when he furnishes us with this delightful summary. He speaks also as a thoughtful man and a ripe scholar when he indignantly comments upon it as follows:

"Who can fathom the inanity of such statements? which are made, and therefore, I suppose, believed, not merely by the ignorant, but by educated men who ought to know better, and will have to answer for their false witness. But all this is persisted in; and it is affirmed that they [the Jesuits] were found to be too bad even for Catholic countries,

the governments of which, it seems, in the course of the last century, forcibly obliged the Pope to put them down.

"Now, I conceive that just one good witness, one person who has the means of knowing how things really stand, is worth a tribe of these pamphleteers, and journalists, and novelists, and preachers, and orators. So I will turn to a most impartial witness, and a very competent one; one who was born of Catholic parents, was educated a Catholic, lived in a Catholic country, was ordained a Catholic priest, and then, renouncing the Catholic religion, and coming to England, became the friend and *protégé* of the most distinguished Protestant prelates of the present day, and the most bitter enemy of the faith which he had once professed,—I mean the late Rev. Joseph Blanco White. Now hear what he says about the Jesuits in Spain, his native country, at the time of their suppression."

Newman remarks on the quotation which he is about to give:

"I have omitted some clauses and sentences which either expressed the *opinions* of the author, as distinct from his testimony, or which are at least irrelevant to the matter in hand; which is simply to show, not what a Protestant can speak *against* (which no one can doubt), but what he can say *in favor* of, this calumniated body; however, to prevent misrepresentation, the entire passage shall be given at the end of the volume."

He then quotes as follows from Blanco White:

"The Jesuits," he says, "till the abolition of that order, had an almost unrivalled influence over the better classes of Spaniards. They had nearly monopolized the instruction of the Spanish youth, at which they toiled without pecuniary reward, and were equally zealous in promoting devotional feelings both among their pupils and the people at large. . . . Wherever, as in France and Italy, literature was in high estimation, the Jesuits spared no trouble to raise among themselves men of eminence in that department. In Spain their chief aim was to provide their houses with popular preachers, and zealous, yet prudent and gentle confessors. Pascal, and the Jansenist party, of which he was the organ, accused them of systematic laxity in their moral doctrines; but the charge, I believe, though plausible in theory, was perfectly groundless in practice. . . . The influence of the Jesuits on Spanish morals, from everything I have learned, was undoubtedly favorable. Their kindness attracted the youth from their schools to their Company; and . . . they greatly contributed to the preservation of virtue in that slippery age, both by the ties of affection, and the gentle check of example. Their churches were crowded every Sunday with regular attendants,

who came to confess and receive the sacrament. . . . Their conduct was correct, and their manners refined. They kept up a dignified intercourse with the middling and higher classes, and were always ready to help and instruct the poor, without descending to their level. . . . Whatever we may think of the political delinquencies of their leaders, their bitterest enemies have never ventured to charge the Order of Jesuits with moral irregularities."

Newman hereupon asks,—

"Does this answer to the popular notion of a Jesuit? Will Exeter Hall be content with the testimony of one who does not speak from hereditary prejudice, but from actual knowledge? Certainly not; and in consequence it ignores all statements of the kind; they are to be uttered, and they are to be lost; and the received slander is to keep its place as part and parcel of the old stock in trade, and in the number of the heirlooms of Protestantism, the properties of its stage, the family pictures of its old mansion, in the great controversy between the Lion of Judah and the children of men."

It is not my purpose, in the following extracts from Mr. Coffin, to cull a posy of Protestant weeds in order to demonstrate their noxious character. Vindications innumerable, and from all manner of apologists, Catholic, Protestant, infidel, have, merely in the interest of historical truth, cleared the Jesuits, over and over again, of the absurd charges collected by Mr. Coffin. I am not attempting a defence of that venerable order; I am not even urging a plea against the sale of books such as "Old Times in the Colonies;" but I am protesting against the existence of such books in the class-rooms of our public schools. The inconceivable ignorance of Mr. Coffin, resulting in such pathetic blunders in geography, biography, history, and arithmetic, and the financial success which that ignorance has attained in the multiplication of his books and their obvious acceptability to the reading public, all this terrible arraignment of our American culture, knowledge, politeness, and religious tolerance, is not my present business; and I pass it by without further notice.

I have no doubt that my readers will appreciate thoroughly the humorous side of the following extracts, and will generously ascribe their venomous intent to an obliquity of vision

rather than to a warping of the will. Doubtless such writers as Mr. Coffin merely disgorge the offal upon which they have themselves been fed; so that charity towards them is very likely to be but another name for justice. The difficulty confronting us is not, however, Mr. Coffin, but the children in the public schools. Are we raising up a race of warped intellects? Is the machinery of public education turning out innumerable Coffins, fairly educated to the outward eye, "but within, full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness"? With which preface, I give the extracts:

1. "The Spaniards were hard-hearted, treacherous, vindictive. The Jesuits had the consciences of the Spaniards in their keeping, teaching them to do any evil that good might come. When Elizabeth was queen, they planned to have her assassinated; and the assassin Somerville, who was to commit the bloody deed, received the host at their hands before starting for London. They bargained with one of Elizabeth's servants to poison her. . . . They conspired with Anthony Babington, and other Catholics who were in Elizabeth's household, to kill her." (P. 73.)

2. "Again the Spaniards and Jesuits had been foiled in their plans." (Armada, p. 74.)

3. "Robert Catesby conceived the plan. The Jesuits fomented it." (Gunpowder Plot, p. 75.)

4. "There is rejoicing in convents and nunneries, for no more will the Jesuits be thwarted in their plans by Henry IV." ("Assassination of Henry IV.," p. 89.)

5. "The Jesuits laid far-reaching plans." (French Colonization, p. 93.)

6. "The Jesuits were delighted; the continent was theirs! Not quite." (P. 94.)

7. "Huguenots control the trade with the Indians? Never! One of the friars hastened to France. The Jesuits there were powerful." (P. 147.)

8. "On what foundations shall the empire of France in the Western World be constructed,—on the natural rights of man? No; for neither the king, the Romish Church, nor the Jesuits have any conception of natural rights." (P. 254.)

9. "Three Jesuits . . . stirred up the Indians to make war upon the English. 'My children,' said Thury [one of the Jesuit fathers], 'how long will you suffer your lands to be encroached upon by the heretics? By the religion I have taught you, I exhort you to resist them. The hatchet must be cleaned of its rust. Night and day a continual prayer

shall ascend to heaven for your success; an unceasing rosary shall be observed till your return, covered with the glory of triumph.'" (P. 273.)

10. (War of the Spanish Succession.) "Why should they trouble themselves about conflicts three thousand miles away? Not so the Jesuit priests at St. Francis, Quebec, and Montreal. England was Protestant, France Roman Catholic. Protestants were heretics,—enemies of God,—who ought to be exterminated. It was right to employ any means, to commit murder even, if the glory of God could be promoted. They urged the Indians to begin war against the English in Maine. [P. 320. Then follow the massacres by the Indians.] . . . So, through the instigation of the Jesuits, the bloody work began." (P. 322.)

11. "The English were heretics, enemies of the Church. Had not Louis XIV. driven hundreds of thousands of them out of France? It was the duty of the Indians to resist the English. What right had the English to the land of the Indians? By subtle arts he [the Jesuit Father Rale] influenced them against the settlers. . . . Father Rale, in his chapel, . . . urged the Indians on; and all along the frontier, from the Connecticut to Nova Scotia, Indian bands prowled everywhere, falling upon the defenceless settlers. It was the same sad story everywhere,—of surprises and ambushes, the shooting of defenceless men and women, taking their scalps, going as suddenly as they came, Father Rale and Vandreuil ever urging them on." (Maine and New Hampshire, p. 329.)

12. "The Indians were weary of war. Their bravest warrior had fallen; there was no longer a Father Rale to urge them on, and they made peace once more. So ended the war, which had been kindled wholly through the influence of the Jesuits." (P. 335.)

13. (Georgia.) "The Jesuits at St. Augustine prevailed upon some of the negroes to return to South Carolina and stir up the slaves to revolt and murder their masters." (P. 354.)

The Moral—L'Envoi.

The Jesuits and Papists and emissaries of the Pope have been laying "plans" so continuously in Mr. Coffin's recitals, that when we come to "The Negro Tragedy" (chapter xxx.) we naturally expect but another revelation of the same kind as the preceding ones. And, indeed, the suspicion that the "Papists" or "Spaniards" were in a conspiracy to burn and kill so acted upon the minds of all concerned that the "sad record," as Mr. Coffin styles it, includes "nearly two hundred imprisoned; twelve burnt to death; eighteen hung; thirty-two transported and sold as slaves in the West Indies, and every one innocent!" (p. 362). It is easy to look back and condemn the wild panic

of the good people of New York,—"governor, judges, jury, lawyers, ministers, people" (p. 362),—who "went crazy," as Mr. Coffin remarked, with fear. But their fear was not unnatural in the circumstances.

"A ship sailed into the harbor [of New York] from Savannah, bringing a letter from Governor Oglethorpe, of Georgia, to Lieutenant-Governor Clark. 'I have some intelligence of a villanous design. The Spaniards have employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and large towns in America. Many priests are employed for the purpose, who pretend to be physicians, dancing-masters, and other such kind of occupations,' wrote Governor Oglethorpe.

"'The Spaniards! the Papists! the Papists!' The cry ran through the town. Who were the emissaries?

"'John Ney, the school-master; he is a priest in disguise.'

"Poor John Ney, a quiet, inoffensive, retiring man, who had always minded his own business, and had eked out a scanty living by teaching school, was hauled up before the court. . . .

"'I have no knowledge [said Ney] of any conspiracy. I am not a Catholic, but a minister of the Church of England.'

"What was that denial to a panic-stricken court and people?

"'He is a Papist, a conspirator! Hang him!'

"The rope was put round his neck, . . . cut, and his lifeless body dangled in the air." (P. 361.)

And so the horrible tragedy included others, as given above in the list quoted from Mr. Coffin.

Of course, there was no conspiracy, and it was all a great mistake. But the frenzy was a natural one in the circumstances. In various degrees, it has been repeated in almost every decade of the history of the United States under the Constitution, as well as in the "Old Times" when the States were "Colonies." Books like this of Mr. Coffin's are even now doing that work of panic which lying ministers and pamphleteers and secret agents have been engaged in throughout English history since the Reformation. The anti-Papist and anti-Jesuit crusades are responsible for the burnings of churches and convents in this "free land" of ours; for political proscription such as the Know-Nothings and A. P. A.-ists advocated and do now advocate; for a spirit of hatred of Catholicity is as universal as it is diabolical. Did Mr. Coffin write his philippics

merely for declamation to the sad sea waves? Was he doing any other thing than propagating that malicious spirit of wild panic, the results of which he deplores in the "Negro Tragedy of New York"? "Conspiracy!" he cries out in amazement:

"Conspiracy! There had been none. The negroes were innocent. John Ney was innocent. The Papists, the Spaniards, had laid no plans. The Pope had no emissaries in disguise. There was not a Catholic priest in New York. . . . How sad the record! Nearly two hundred imprisoned, twelve burnt to death, eighteen hung, thirty-two transported and sold as slaves in the West Indies, and every one innocent!" (P. 362.)

He continues:

"How shall we account for such a craze? Governor, judges, the wisest and best men, the whole community, going mad, losing their wits, imprisoning, hanging the innocent, believing the stories of an injudicious chore-girl of a dirty groggery, rejecting the protestations of a school-master, a minister of the Church of England. Accepting lies for truth, and regarding the truth as lies." (P. 362.)

Throughout his book, Mr. Coffin, like the "chore-girl of a dirty groggery," has been similarly trying to make his readers accept "lies for the truth." Would he be surprised, I wonder, if his books should attain results similar to that of the "Negro Tragedy"? He remarks of this tragedy, that,—

"It is the most unaccountable event in the history of our country."

I cannot follow him here. To my mind the event is as clearly accountable for as the torch of an incendiary is accountable for the arson committed, the knife of the midnight assassin for the lifeless tenement at which it so rudely knocked, or the frenetic ravings of men like Mr. Coffin for the periodical outbursts of blind rage against the Catholic Church in the United States.

H. T. Henry.

Overbrook Seminary.

BOOK REVIEWS.

At the date of its appearance, 1871, the Brief History of the United States, by J. Dorman Steele and Esther B. Steele, was, perhaps, as attractive in appearance as any text-book on that subject before the American people. When the work passed from the care of A. S. Barnes & Co. to that of the American Book Company it not only was not suffered to fall behind the times as to the revision of its text, but it was greatly improved in appearance until it has become in its latest edition about the most attractive history of the United States that we have yet examined. The enterprise of the American Book Company, however, has not been able to supply some evident deficiencies. These are "structural," so to speak, and it would therefore be almost impossible entirely to remove them. Some of its illustrations are of decided merit, and all are carefully selected with an eye to vivifying the theme. There is little originality in the maps, though they have the merit of always bearing upon the text. On the old method of writing school histories Barnes' would not soon be superseded. Scarcely forty pages are devoted to the period of exploration and discovery; the important epoch following is even more scantily treated; if there is any period in American history that requires an ample narrative, it is the time of our colonial development. The French wars are touched lightly. A more ample narrative is properly reserved for the Revolution, and in this part little is desired.

The limitations of this work become more apparent as we reach the beginning of the national era. The influence of inventions upon the political life of Americans, such, for instance, as the cotton-gin, the steamboat, and the electric telegraph, are either not mentioned at all or are not sufficiently emphasized. Industrial progress has put new interpretations

upon the Constitution, and after two generations changed a federal into a national government. The extent of the carrying trade of the new union, and the principal results of the second war with England are very concisely related. Ten lines describe the important administration of John Quincy Adams. Socialistic movements are almost omitted. The principal events of the Rebellion are treated in an interesting though time-honored manner. Of the period from 1865 to the present time the authors have but a feeble grasp; this observation is especially true of the intricate period of reconstruction. Indeed, there still remains to be written for the compiler of school-books as well as for the general student an intelligent account of the return of the States.

The Life of the Very Rev. Felix De Andreis, C. M. With an introduction by the Most Rev. John J. Kain, D.D., Archbishop of St. Louis, Mo. Published by B. Herder. St. Louis, Mo.

In his introduction to this work the Archbishop of St. Louis points out that it appears quite opportunely at the present time when the work of collecting evidence intended to prove the heroic sanctity of Father De Andreis is about to begin in this country. Already the process, which it is hoped will result in his canonization, has been set on foot in the dioceses of Rome and Piacenza in Italy, and a similar proceeding will soon be inaugurated in the diocese of St. Louis, where the holy priest spent the closing years of his life, and where took place his edifying death.

This work was first published in 1861, and we are indebted for it to the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, first bishop of St. Louis. Bishop Rosati had been a pupil of Professor De Andreis when the latter was lecturing on theology in Rome. Father De Andreis and Father Rosati crossed the ocean together, reaching St. Louis in October, 1817. Father Rosati succeeded Father De Andreis as Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in America, and in 1824 he was consecrated bishop of St. Louis. It is a tribute to the affection in which he held his late superior to say that in his many labors as first bishop

of St. Louis he found time to collect and arrange the data for this work.

Bishop Rosati's sketches were written in Italian. It was his intention to have the work brought out first in Italy; in 1840 he intrusted his MSS. to Fr. Samaria of Turin, who was to collect some further information about the early life of Father De Andreis, but the death of Bishop Rosati, in 1843, hindered the bringing out of the Italian work. This present publication is the translation by the Rev. Francis Burlando, C.M., with corrections and supplementary information to the edition of 1861.

Of the early youth of Father De Andreis we have but meagre details. We know that he was early moved towards the religious life, and that, as he himself says, he felt inspired with the desire to enter the Congregation of the Mission. During his years of preparatory study Bishop Rosati says that all who knew the young De Andreis admired his penetrating intellect, his aptness to learn the most difficult things, his ready and retentive memory, his lofty imagination, and, what is more important, his determination in the pursuit of his studies and his irreprehensible moral conduct.

The key to Father De Andreis' disposition, to his true missionary spirit, and to the esteem in which he was held by all who knew him is contained in the four resolutions made by him during the retreat of 1810. In these days it is worth noting his third resolve:

"Bearing in mind that humility is the gate of truth, my most ardent study shall be to overcome self-esteem, which I will combat on every occasion by contrary acts."

In 1806 Father De Andreis was sent to Rome to teach theology, and in that city he labored until 1815. Of his work there Bishop Rosati writes: "When he took the chair his disciples were astonished, I may say almost thunderstruck, by the richness, ease, solidity, and perspicuity of his arguments." Indeed, later on, Pius VII. said of him to Cardinal Della Somaglia, "We must not lose sight of this young man, for it is with such as he that we should fill the episcopal sees."

Through the persevering efforts of the Right Rev. William

Dubourg, Bishop of New Orleans, the services of Father De Andreis were secured for the missions of that diocese. With him came Father Rosati and Father Acquaroni. So fervent was the piety and so perfect was the order of this little band of missionaries that the vessel on which they sailed resembled a religious house. Instead of going to New Orleans, the plan was changed and the city of St. Louis became their destination.

To the new country and to the unclaimed wilderness of the immense diocese of Louisiana Father De Andreis brought the true missionary spirit, coupled with unwearying zeal. The account which we have here set down for us by Bishop Rosati should be of the greatest interest to all classes of Catholic readers. His work at Bardstown, his apostolic labors in St. Louis, the changing conditions which he was called upon continually to meet and provide for,—"emigrants are arriving in crowds from all parts of the United States, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, and France," he says, "send multitudes to people the smiling and fertile plains of Missouri,"—the founding of the first House of the Congregation of the Mission, the opening of the novitiate in St. Louis,—in all these labors we see the man of God, the learned priest, the zealous, loving, and holy missionary.

"The clergy," says Archbishop Kain, "will see herein depicted an ideal priest; religious communities will find much to admire in the exactness with which the servant of God observed, and caused others to observe, the details of community life; the laity will find in this life of a holy priest much that will move them to a greater love for the priesthood in general, and to a wider sympathy with the priest who gives up home and family to consecrate his life to the service of God and the salvation of souls."

David Cotter.



✝ A. M. Toebbe
Bp of Cov.

RT. REV. AUGUSTUS M. TOEBBE, D.D.

Second Bishop of Covington, Ky. Born January 15, 1829; ordained September 14, 1854; consecrated January 9, 1870; died May 2, 1884.



+ Ignatius Persico

RT. REV. IGNATIUS PERSICO, D.D.

Fourth Bishop of Savannah, Ga. Born January 30, 1823; ordained January 24, 1846; consecrated June 4, 1854; died December 7, 1895.



✠ Rupert Seidenbush
O. S. B.

RT. REV. RUPERT SEIDENBUSH, O.S.B.

Vicar Apostolic of North Minnesota. Born October 13, 1830; ordained June 22, 1853; consecrated May 30, 1875; died June 3, 1895.



VERY REV. RICHARD SULLIVAN BAKER, D.D.
Charleston, S. C. Born 1807; died January 30, 1870.



RT. REV. JOHN McMULLEN, D.D.
First Bishop of Davenport, Iowa. Born January 8, 1832; ordained June 20, 1858; consecrated July 15, 1881; died July 4, 1883.



REV. FRANCIS J. QUINN.

Rector of the Church of the Nativity, Philadelphia. Born November 15, 1846; ordained June 15, 1870; died April 24, 1901.



CARMELITE NUN (of the Old Observance) in ordinary dress.



PROPHET ELIAS.

From a painting in the church of the Basilians at Troina in Sicily.



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CARMELITE RELIGIOUS (of the Old Observance) with cape or mantle.



CARMELITE NUN (of the Old Observance) in choir dress.



CARMELITE RELIGIOUS (of the Old Observance) in ordinary dress.



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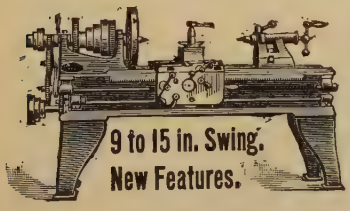
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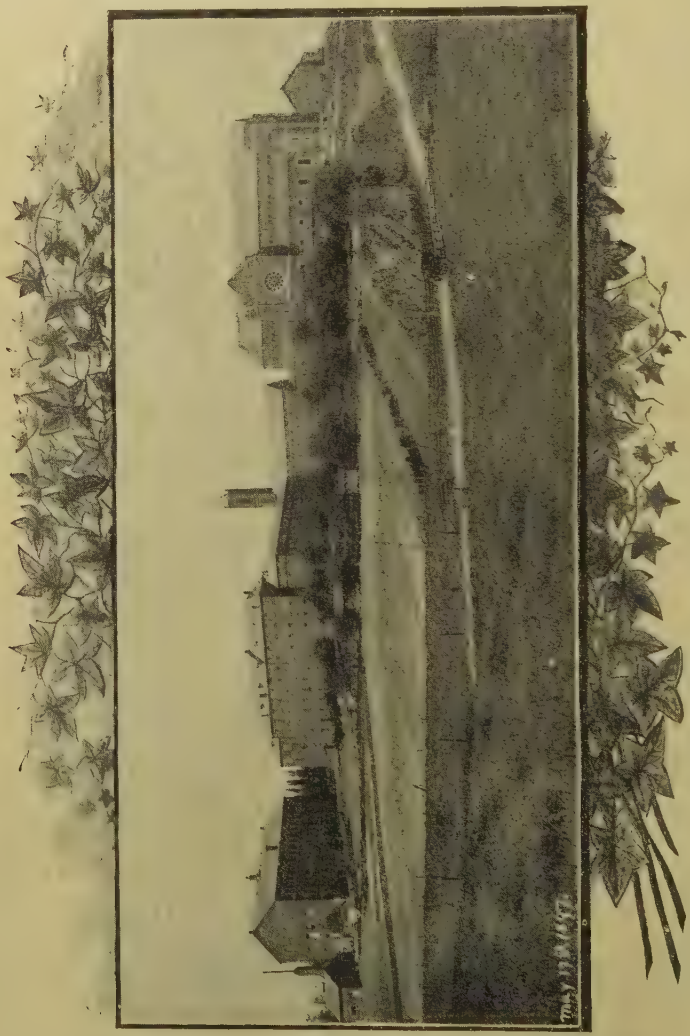
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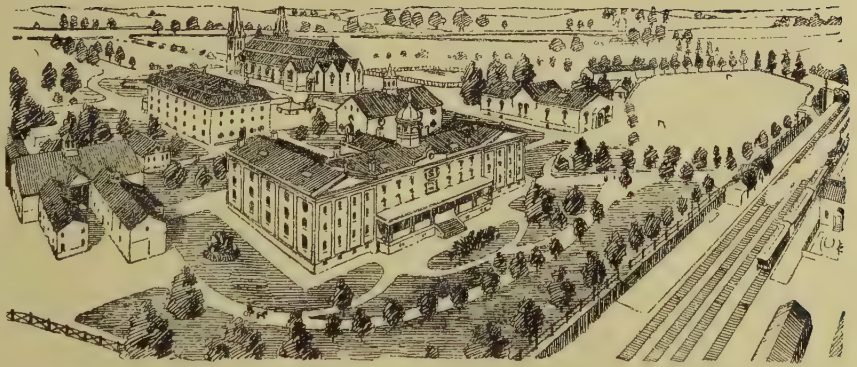
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AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA.

A.D. 1855—1900.

WITH REMINISCENCES OF STILL EARLIER DAYS

BY REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S.A.

(CONTINUED.)

DURING the summer and fall months of '55 work on St. Mary's was carried on briskly, that before winter set in the church might be ready for divine services.*

And so were the hopes of the Faithful realized, when on Sunday afternoon, November 11, (1855,) just five months and a day from the blessing of its "first stone," † the church itself having been completed far enough to admit of its opening, by Bishop Neumann amid a large gathering of the Faithful and non-Catholics, this building, henceforth to be devoted to divine worship, was blessed to the honor of the Most High God and His ever holy Mother, under the title of "Our Lady of Consolation."

On this happy occasion the sermon was delivered by Rev. Dr. Ryder, a Jesuit preacher of renown, and warm friend of the Augustinian Doctor—both of them long since

* The same summer of '55 the Augustinians opened a second mission at Atlantic City, N. J., afterwards put under the protection of St. Nicholas of Tolentine, great "wonder-worker," as the Church styles this saint of their Order.

† In church language the corner-stone of a church is known as *primarius lapis*.

gone to their reward.* The alms gathered this day in the church—the first offerings of the Faithful in the new temple—amounted to $375. The *Catholic Herald* (of the week before) in its announcement of the approaching festivity at the Hill had notified its readers among the city people that tickets of admission to the church (with railroad fare included) might be had for one dollar at St. Augustine's church, or from any of the clergy.† In its next issue the same paper stated that the

"new church was dedicated last Sunday with solemn ceremonies. Dr. Ryder preached to a crowded congregation."

While the *Ledger* (of the day after) observed that

"yesterday afternoon a train of sixteen cars nearly full carried the visitors to the Hill to attend the dedication of the Catholic Church." ‡

The same day too right after the dedicatory ceremonies in the church was conferred within its newly blessed walls a sacrament, very appropriately a baptism. For inasmuch as on that day the profane mass of earthly materials—stone and mortar, whereof the visible temple of God was composed, had been set aside for Christian worship, so too was the unregenerated soul of a babe also to be made Christian.

This first-offering made in Our Lady's temple—Agnes Brady Middleton, barely six months old, was the youngest of the nine children born to Joseph Middleton, that at the suggestion of Dr. Moriarty himself, though with what might seem unneeded risk, had been kept from baptism till

---

* Rev. Dr. James Ryder, of the Society of Jesus, one of America's foremost preachers, died January 12, 1860, at St. Joseph's, in Philadelphia, aged sixty years. (He was born October 8, 1800.)

† *Catholic Herald* for November 8, 1855.

‡ *Public Ledger* for Monday, November 12, 1855.

The view given in this memoir of St. Mary's church and presbytery represents the buildings, with horse-sheds, diamond-barred fence, and oak-tree, as they appeared in 1856. The sketch was drawn in India-ink by one of the sisters at Mount St. Joseph's from lines and description given by the writer.



CHURCH AND PRESBYTERY—"THE HERMITAGE"—OF OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA., IN 1856.

the church itself was blessed, that (as the Doctor put it) the little child might be the first recipient of divine sacramental grace within the walls of the temple its father had toiled to rear, and its name the first inscribed on the registers of Our Lady's shrine.*

But not till the following year, 1856, was the first marriage witnessed in Our Lady's mission-church, when on January 29, more than two months and a half after the opening of the church, two members of the mission—Daniel Curley and Bridget Flannery were joined in holy wedlock by Rev. Michael F. Gallagher, an Augustinian from Philadelphia, with Jerome Cannon and Bridget Haverty, witnesses.†

Following is a list of non-Catholic places of worship at the Hill, as well as (so far at least as we could determine) in other quarters of St. Mary's mission-field.‡

Several of these places of worship were visited by the writer when as a little lad he accompanied his father in his search for religion. Frequently he remembers having gone to Plymouth Meeting-House, occasionally to the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Baptist churches, and once to the Methodist.

At Chestnut Hill were five churches: (1) "Union Chapel", apparently the first place of worship at the Hill, built about 1825, by John MacGoffin, a Scotch Presbyterian, on Jacoby's, (afterwards Graver's,) Lane, now West Union Avenue. (Pages 433, 434.)

---

* This child, born May 6, 1855, had for godparents Daniel Charles Edward Brady, a Philadelphia banker, and his wife Emma M. Gorgas, a convert, of the Germantown family of that name, both members (in the summer season) of St. Vincent's.

On April 10, 1859 (the remark seems admissible), this first neophyte of St. Mary's was borne through death to the heaven of the blest.

† Since this time (as we have ascertained through the church-registers of St. Mary's) baptism has been administered to nineteen hundred and six (1906) souls, and marriage entered into by three hundred and eighty-six (386) couples.

‡ The non-Catholic Chestnut Hill churches have been described in Mr. Hotchkin's work, whence we have gathered our data, whereof the pages will be found in curved brackets.

(2) Baptist church at the fork of the Bethlehem and Perkiomen pikes; corner-stone laid in May, 1835; church opened in August of the same year, with Rev. Robert F. Young in charge. (Page 434.)

(3) Methodist church on Perkiomen pike, known as "Wesley Chapel"; corner-stone laid on the second Monday in June, (*i.e.*, June 9,) 1845. (Page 429.)

(4) Presbyterian church at the corner of Rex Avenue and Perkiomen pike; corner-stone laid on July 1, 1852; church opened on June 16, 1853, with forty members. (Page 477.)

(5) Episcopal church on Chestnut avenue; parish organized June 18, 1855; church consecrated in September, 1856. The ground for this building costing $5,500. (Page 446.)

Then three others—St. Thomas' Episcopal church at White Marsh, founded (tradition says) sometime in the last decade of the XVIIth century; St. Peter's Lutheran Church at Barren Hill, founded (it is supposed) in 1761; and the Friends' Meeting-House at Plymouth, built about 1712.*

One of St. Thomas' ministers—Rev. George C. Foote, in care from 1852 to 1855, was (along with his wife and family) converted shortly after to the Church; became a warm friend of Doctor Moriarty; and for several years taught school at St. Augustine's (in Philadelphia.) From the school-registers there I learn that Mr. Foote entered as principal in February, 1857, with a salary of $50 a month,—a position he held up to 1860, when the lay-teachers (hitherto in charge of that parish-school) were supplanted by the Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Cross,

---

* For these three places of worship, see Bean's *Hist. of Montgomery County*, pp. 1148, 1150. Since writing the above we learn that Barren Hill church was destroyed by fire on Thursday morning, September 28, 1899.

from Notre Dame in Indiana. (Doctor Foote died in 1861.)

With the opening of St. Mary's began forthwith the active mission-work at the Hill of Doctor Moriarty, first rector of that church, who straightway giving up his residence at St. Augustine's in town, where he had been in charge for the last five years, entered into care of his new field, where with the exception of some thirteen months or so three years later, he labored continuously among the Faithful until his retirement from parish duty early in 1875,—year also of his death.

In the spring of 1858, Doctor Moriarty exiling himself as it were from "The Hermitage,"—thus he was wont to style his home at the Hill,—went to Lansingburgh, in New York, in order to inaugurate a mission there given to his religious brethren in that State, by the late Cardinal (then merely Bishop) McCloskey, of Albany,* his companions thither being the now deceased Fathers George A. Meagher from St. Denis' church at Haverford, and Mark Crane from Villanova.†

At the very outset of his missionary career (at Chestnut Hill,) the Doctor accepting the kindly offer of its owner—William L. Hirst, took up his residence (as elsewhere said) in the house of that gentleman on Rex avenue, and though not without much suffering from the cold,—Mr. Hirst's home built only for summer use was sieve-like in all seasons as much a discomfort in winter as a boon in hot weather

* The doctor, referring to this migration of his northward, in a letter to his friend, the late Rev. Patrick Reilly, of Wilmington, in Delaware, pleads therein his inability to attend the blessing of the new church just founded by that missionary, because, as he says, "I have been absent from Philadelphia for the past week, . . . engaged in the formation of a branch of our Order in this place." (See letter dated "Lansingburgh, N. Y., April 27, 1858," in RECORDS (of this SOCIETY) for 1899, x, 358.)

† Shortly after his exodus from the Hill he was relieved of his burden as superior of the Augustinians in the United States, that he had held since 1851. *The Catholic Herald* (of June 26, 1858), referring to this fact, states that "the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty sent to Rome towards the close of last year [1857] the resignation of his office of commissary-general of the St. Augustine's Order. His resignation having been accepted, by letters recently arrived Very Rev. Fr. Stanton has been appointed his successor."

—stayed there the entire winter of 1855-1856 until the presbytery was ready for occupancy some six months later. In fact the parish residence, (its dimensions we have given ahead,) was not opened until the early summer of '56, when "on May 5th", as we are informed from a contemporary record, it was "cleaned up", and presumably not many days later, the prospective tenants—the Doctor and his little household moved in. With the Doctor lived as Mass-server and errand-boy a lad named "Joe" Brawley, whom he had brought with him from town; for awhile too, until he had his work done, "Pat" Owens, (the carpenter named ahead along with the Indian,) employed by the Doctor in making and setting up new pews and choir-gallery in place of the makeshifts thrown together for the benediction ceremonies the year before. Carpenter Owens erected also the wooden fence on the avenue (afterwards of iron) while Henry McQuaid, former gardener at "Valley Green", laid out the presbytery grounds with walks and flower-beds, planted trees, whereof one only, we think, is yet standing, the fir alongside the south tower-wall, besides doing various odds and ends to make the place look neat.*

At St. Mary's too lived one Bridget Doran,—this housekeeper's name we have read in the registry-list quoted on a previous page,—whose sister Mary was similarly caretaker at St. Denis' in Delaware County, another mission-house of the Order, in charge of Rev. Edward M. Mullen. In 1858, succeeded a Mrs. Jones; then at Christmas (of the same year) a Mrs. Kilmartin, who was supplanted in '59 by Mrs. Julia Lenehan, who up to this had been in care of the domestic management at the parish-house of St. John Baptist at Lansingburgh in New York, where she had served as house-keeper for Rev. Daniel P. Falvey, last

* In the fall of 1900, under Rector Sullivan, new pews (of carved oak) were put up in St. Mary's, a centre aisle opened, and the old heated-air arrangement in the cellar replaced with steam.

secular priest resident in that village, and on his transfer for the first Augustinians.

We give place here to these early dwellers at Our Lady's shrine because they were faithful (albeit humble) workers in the service of Her ministers.

Some pages ahead we touched lightly on the more salient points in the early career of this venerable representative of the Church Militant in his mission-field in three of the great divisions of the globe—Europe, Asia, America.

In continuance of this theme, nor wholly irrelevant to our story, because of the manifold light shed thereby on the character of this churchman especially as priest and orator, we may be allowed to sketch briefly the chief endowments of the Doctor, whose memory cannot yet have wholly faded from his former parishioners and friends at the Hill,—a circle of acquaintances however fast waning through years.

In 1855, as already noted, Doctor Moriarty then in the hey-day of his intellectual powers (as at least we remember him) came to the Hill, leaving it just twenty years later to die at the mother-house of his province at Villanova.

Of strong-knit frame, sturdy of build, they who knew the Doctor will recall his bearing in action or repose,—how dignified stately he was in presence, as noble—fine-looking, and handsome a man as one could meet, that if encountered on highway or in public would move the seer irresistibly to ask—"Who is that person?"

From his courtliness of manners, it was easy to see that the Doctor was of gentle breeding; he was very polite, cavalier-like, yet without the least tinge of foppishness, or levity of manner; would never admit of any play, any familiarity even from those that had known him longest. It would be inconceivable, I think, that any one should venture (the second time at least) to sport with the Doctor, who though fond himself of jesting, was quick to send a

chill of dismay through any inconsiderate joker. (In the Doctor's presence one always had to be (as it were) on his best behavior.) In fact the Doctor was not so much a man to love, as to admire; and indeed, albeit never positively repellant, he was on the whole rather unapproachable, somewhat too grand altogether for the community at large, that awed (as it were) by the majesty of their pastor seemed to breathe easier in worshipping him from a distance.

In appearance the Doctor was always neat, with plain simple garb of black—the cleric-dress of his day, topped with a little black stock and turn-down collar, split in front, after the fashion of churchmen up to the '60s or so.*

Even in the closing years of his life, bowed as he was through age, with frame sadly crippled with rheumatism and gout, neither years nor disease seemed to have impaired the majesty of the Doctor, any more than they dimmed not (perceptibly at least) the intense vigor and many-hued brilliancy of his spirit.

With large, noble-looking head, whereof every feature, —each remarkable type of manly attractiveness,—was regular, clear-cut, of classic mould on graceful lines, for the Doctor was full of face, as he was stout in build; with eyes dark in hue, bushy-browed, piercing, sparkling, laughing, chiding, for he was quick to see, even when not looking. So different therein from many, who fail to see even with eyes wide open, the Doctor could with merely a glance praise, or rebuke, charm, or paralyze; with mouth of multiform mobility of expression, that without utterance could

* In this memoir we give two portraits of Doctor Moriarty,—one, the earliest (we know of), taken in 1846 by Albert Newsam, the deaf and dumb lithographer of Philadelphia (born 1809; died 1864), celebrated for the fidelity of his likenesses in portraiture, as declared in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Phila.*, ii, 1064, 1065, where the reader will find a neat sketch of this singularly gifted artist; the other as the Doctor appeared in the seventies.

Our earliest recollection of the Doctor (in the '50s) marks him as in the first portrait (saving the whiskers). The writer never saw him except clean-shaven; and, we may add, the Doctor would always shave himself. Otherwise, Newsam's lines of 1846 might stand for 1856.

yet speak sermons; with voice clear, rotund, resonant, many-toned, powerful in its softness as well as ruggedness of words,—but who rightly could tell of the manifold energy and charm of that wondrous vehicle of his spirit?—who when taking his place in pulpit, or rostrum, or, (as so well suited him) as high-priest at the altar, easily without the slightest strain could fill cathedral, or hall,—nay the vaster the building the better (it seemed) the Doctor welcomed such test of his powers, where with never a sign of weariness, with voice as fresh and round-toned at the end of an hour's delivery, as when he began, even after chanting the whole *Passion* himself, as he not unfrequently did on Palm Sunday at the Hill, or speaking for hours from the stage, or in the open,—such is our recollection of the magic force and charm of the Doctor's oratorical genius when in his prime.*

In his early years at the Hill, besides a sermon at last Mass, commonly of a half-hour's length, though often even much longer, the Doctor (as elsewhere observed) was wont to hold forth in the evening at Vesper service on some dogmatic theme as the "Marks of the True Church", "Transubstantiation", "Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff", and topics kindred with these.

In language whether in public, or at home, though rather Ciceronian in his long-drawn periods, very classical, very rich in imagery, with much wealth of allusion, the Doctor albeit somewhat given to declamation, while a close observer could not but notice in him a certain tendency to dogmatism, was apt to be rather dictatorial even in tone, yet rarely, if ever, so spirited was he in way and discourse, would the hearer find him prosy, or dull, never at least downright tiresome, nay, interesting always in sermon, lecture,

* Dr. Moriarty was of the race of what we may designate as "long-winded" speakers. The newspapers of the '40s and '50s, in their accounts of his addresses at corner-stone layings, church openings, and lectures, note frequently the two and even three hours' length of his discourses.

conversation, wherein, in fact, with his never-failing resources of wit, anecdote, irony, ridicule, he was "the soul of the company".

And easily too was Doctor Moriarty conscious of his powers, for listener (it seemed) he could not easily be; in fact he was rarely slow in masking his dislike for any interruption, nor was any one unwilling after better acquaintance, to leave the Doctor alone in full enjoyment of his monopoly of talking, as became a *racconteur* of the old school, who couldn't open his lips without uttering something of interest.

Never garrulous, never trivial in detail, forceful always in the arts of rhetorician and speaker, we cannot but laud this attribute of the Doctor's style master as he was in every form of diction classic or modern, that easily and we think truly he may be set down as without peer in pulpit, or rostrum, albeit as has often been observed in professional speakers, his written words (it has not untruly been said) fail utterly to reflect the genius of the orator, the wealth of his widely-read and scholarly mind, the graces and charms of the man in action. No, we do not think we mistake his weakness in discerning in the Doctor's writings a certain ponderousness in language, that in a way repelling through lack of personal living grace makes his words somewhat heavy reading, though none livelier than his when spoken, especially when with the charms of diction were joined in every movement, gesture, nay in every play of his features, the graces of the actor, for in truth (as was often observed) Doctor Moriarty could very easily have been, if not ecclesiastic, tragedian, even mimic, or comedian.

In no place was the Doctor so much at home as in discussion on (it little mattered what topic) religion, politics, fine arts, or letters, wherein what with his sonorous deep voice, that easily could crush antagonism, his well-deserved reputation for prodigious memory that even in far-away

minutiæ seemed never at fault, his ready command of language,—he was a finished scholar of modern English,—besides his ingeniousness in argument,—this was the arena wherein the Doctor loved to engage in contest. With a never-ending stream of varied fancies, with a quasi inexhaustible store of many-sided learning, of jest, repartee, —the Doctor was adept in all the graces of polished discourse, such a one in brief, that albeit he might stun you for the moment with the volcano-like fierceness of his philippics, whereof he was at times unsparing,—he was a master of invective,—yet could not but exact of you admiration for the wealth and grandeur of his ideas, whereby you would be apt to be transported in fancy to live over the scenes he might be portraying at the moment.

Manifold as were the gifts of mind of Doctor Moriarty, who could sway an audience with a gesture as easily as he could pen an hour's discourse on almost any heading, one grace chiefly, I think, may be put down as pre-eminently marvellous,—the prodigiousness of his memory, wherein too (I should say) he had no rival,—a power that the scribe can recall nothing like, which adamantine in characteristic had seemingly assimilated in his mind and kept there clean-graven, ready for service at no more than a moment's notice, whatever in a long course of reading,—in theology, travels, history, sociology, apologetics, had crossed his mental horizon,—a memory that with the most varied acquaintanceship with men of every station in life, in both hemispheres,—with scholars, diplomats, soldiers, litterati, churchmen, never forgot what had met his eye, or in any way had fastened itself on his mind,—a veritable treasure-store of the most encyclopædic materials,—of circumstantial details of time, place, dates, wherefore in argument, or description, the Doctor never seemed to halt, or ever greatly be at a loss what to say. Oftentimes when in retrospective mood the Doctor took keen pleasure in recalling his ac-

quaintance with such notables in the intellectual world as Clay, Webster, Cheverus, O'Connell, anent whom he had an almost inexhaustible fund of reminiscences.

Summing up then what seem to us the main mental characteristics of the Doctor, I would say that due perhaps to his physical ailments, he barely could be ranked as philosopher,—a man of calm, dispassionate judgment, he was too quick-tempered, too impetuous, too sensitive even for that; nor even (it may be said) as deep scholar, for with him fancy was wont to play at times a larger part than reason. He was just a finished speaker, trained conversationalist, orator.

As Christian churchman there can be no question of his uprightness of spirit,—in speech, in conduct he was one of the cleanest-minded of men, with utmost abhorrence for anything savoring even slightly of vulgarity, or coarseness; a man too of much charity—of kindness—especially for the poor, the needy, in whose behalf his services were never unavailingly invoked. Every now and then even to the last days of his life, he would hie himself away from the "Hermitage" to no matter how distant city, or town, to lecture for charity, for asylum, hospital, orphanage, and the like institutions of Christian benevolence.*

Frugal too in fare, not hard to please with whatever was set on his plate,—the Doctor was a small eater, though none better than he knew what was good living,—if he had a roof over his head, a crust on his table, this was enough. His board while plentiful, was plain even beyond what is needed for simple monastic "commons".

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* In February, 1851, on his return from Europe, he opened an orphanage himself at Govanstown, near Baltimore, Md., which, however, in the following May, on his appointment as commissary-general of his brotherhood, he was constrained to close.

From the archives of the convent of the Good Shepherd (in Philadelphia) I have gathered the following notes relative to Doctor Moriarty's expression of practical sympathy for the wards in charge of that sisterhood. In a *Letter* of August 25, 1899, the superioress of that home informed me that the Doctor lectured for them "on the 17th of March in the years 1861, '65, '67, '70, '72, and 1875." So was he ever ready with aid for the unfortunate.

The writer recalls a Christmas Eve supper at the "Hermitage", some time in the late '60s, when in view of the extraordinary drains on one's vitality Mother Church relaxing somewhat the Advent rigor of her fast allows an extra pittance to the worker. All that afternoon there had been confessions to hear, many more too by night; besides there was the midnight Mass, and the next day's work of itself enough to tax nor lightly either the strength of an athlete. Well, before that hard-working, hungering community was set on the table an abundant repast (it is true), but nothing else than simply tea, bread and butter, some cheese and a—"Dutch cake."

As will have appeared the Doctor in no way a luxury-lover had no expensive tastes save maybe for books, of nothing light however,—with him frivolity in any guise was utterly against his grain,—but he loved good solid reading, of works of standard cast, chiefly what appealed to his genius—polemics, wherein his talents shone at their best. On his desk one would spy the *Dublin, Edinburgh* and *Blackwood's,* which with their pencilled margins,—the Doctor was an industrious note-taker,—showed what use he'd put them to. He was an omnivorous reader.

It was at the "Hermitage," we may add, that the Doctor composed the sole work he chose to leave to posterity—his meditations and reflections on the several phases of the eventful life of the great founder of his order,—Augustine of Hippo,—a book pronounced by the severe Brownson as a kind of masterpiece of hagiographical writing, wherein (he says)

"Dr. Moriarty . . . has given us a most excellent *Life* of St. Augustine, written with deep love and veneration of the saint, a genuine sympathy with the man, and a learned appreciation of the theologian." *

* See the *Life of St. Augustine, Bishop, Confessor, and Doctor of the Church*, published in December, 1872, by Peter F. Cunningham, of Philadelphia. And for Dr. Brownson's eulogy, his *Review* for 1873 (last series, i. 410), where in addition to the words (in

To this life of the great bishop of Hippo Dr. Moriarty added as preface his *Threnody* of the saint, a not unworthy stream of noble thoughts, wherein uplifted in his contemplation of the mighty conflict in Augustine's breast of the two colossal powers of Divine Grace and recreant humanity, the composer himself while extolling the majestic sovereignty of the Most High God, lingers lovingly on the triumph of human reason in the world-renowned penitent and philosopher of Tagaste.

Though this life of the Doctor's great patron was his only work published in book-form, we have innumerable studies contributed by him to periodicals of the day, in later years chiefly appearing in the *Catholic Record,* an extinct magazine of Philadelphia, whereof readable especially are his series of papers on the *Marks of the Church,* and *Letters to a Protestant Friend.**

Many years before his migration from the Hill (in 1875) during the assistantship of the scholarly Harnett, the Doctor in pursuance of a long-devised plan spun the story of his life, which in view of what we know of the varied and epoch-making features in his eventful career in India, Portugal, Italy, France, Ireland, England and America, would have proved no doubt the most interesting and fascinating of reading. But on the advice of Father Harnett, to whom the MS. (before publication) had been submitted for judgment this autobiography was suppressed, and the pages thereof committed by the Doctor himself to the flames.†

The while dwelling on these phases of the Doctor's sojourn at the Hill, we should refer to an incident in his career, that because of various misrepresentations accom-

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the text above) he says, "and we thank him [*the Doctor*] for his work, so well fitted to make known to our English-speaking Catholics the patron of his order, and our own revered patron saint."

* Pen-names common with Doctor Moriarty were "Ermite" and "Hierophilos."

† From information of the late Doctor Stanton, of St. Augustine's, of Philadelphia.

panying it, (some of them already in public print,) have tended (wrongly we judge) to put the memory of others, especially the late venerated ordinary of Philadelphia—Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Wood in unhandsome light as headstrong and unrighteous ruler of his see.

In 1864, the Doctor (moved by who knows what spirit?) made a breach of church polity, a mistake it would appear from its sequences, that for awhile brought down on him the grave displeasure of his ecclesiastical chief, the whole of it forming a problem, that in our quandary whether to leave it alone, or face it, we choose to essay the telling. For, if any one is to handle a neighbor's fault, it had better (it seems) be his brother than a stranger, who perchance while even shunning such recital as too delicate ground for trespass, might (as is more than likely) get matters wrong in his story. Such be our prologue to this crisis in the Doctor's affairs, which albeit at the outset augured ill for his name, served yet the more providentially to honor and brighten his character as worthy churchman and priest.

In the year (above indicated) 1864, a touching appeal for aid of his harassed and long suffering flock, a poor settlement in Ireland, on one of the bleakest spots of the Atlantic coast, had been issued to the Catholics of America, by the cure of that mission—Rev. Patrick Lavelle, of Mount Partry, an ecclesiastic well known too at home for his political associations and somewhat stern reverses. In sequence of this call the Doctor's sympathies were volunteered in a lecture the very title whereof rang out as in challenge to the oppressors of his native land—"What Right," namely, "has England to Rule in Ireland"? being the orator's theme,—a kind of *quo warranto* argument evolved with wonderful skill directed against the English government with the world of public opinion on the bench.*

* See *An Oration: What Right has England to Rule in Ireland?* Delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty in the Academy of Music, May 23, 1864, for the Father Lavelle Fund. Philadelphia: James Gibbons, publisher, 333 Chestnut Street. 1864.

The pamphlet containing this Oration—a document showing clearly the spirit of the times,—of which many thousand copies were sold, makes highly interesting reading.

Besides the preface, (by the publisher, whose admiration for the Doctor seems without bounds,) there is the appeal of Father Lavelle himself "to the exiled Sons of Ireland in America"; the correspondence of the committee of arrangements with Dr. Moriarty; the Doctor's reply; his introductory remarks to the Oration; the Oration itself; and the Allocution of His Holiness Pope Pius IX on the wrongs done by Russia to Poland.*

In this same year Christendom (as had so often been the case of late ages) was deeply moved with the spirit of indignation at various displays in divers parts of the world of gross injustice on the part of legalized tyranny, —in Italy, where a large portion of the Papal States—veritable heritage of the Supreme Pontiff for ages almost untold—had shortly before been ravished from their chosen guardian—Pope Pius IX; in Poland, which for other ages had been victim of Muscovite savageness, not unlike that once practised by our own North American Indians; in Ireland itself, which restive again under the goad of her master, was quickened with hopes of relief through the agency of the newly-born brotherhood of Fenians,—a society however that not long after fell under the ban of the Holy See, that no matter how strong its sympathies with downtrodden humanity cannot recognize, as it has never failed to condemn, the lawfulness of that un-Christian maxim: "The end justifies the means." †

While in the United States what with the spirit of unrest—aftermath of the lately ended era of social and political

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* As frontispiece to this pamphlet is the portrait of Doctor Moriarty by Newsam in 1846.

† In 1870, by decree of January 12, the Fenian brotherhood was put under the same ban of the Church as Free Masons and other disturbers of religious and civil law and order.

strife known as the Civil War, and certain abortive invasions of Canada, men seemed to have cast aside the olive-branch of peace to again gird themselves with the sword of fratricidal war,—such were the points touched on by the Doctor in his address in '64, wherein as his admirers grieved at his downfall from loyalty, even non-sympathizers rejoiced with his ultimate submission.

For reasons moreover not positively known to us in detail, Bishop Wood was moved to inhibit Doctor Moriarty (as was well known at the time) from the delivery of his address. Shortly too before the event we are describing, this same prelate had forbidden the sacraments of the Church to members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Yet on Monday night, May 23, (in 1864,) in the presence of an audience, that (the papers of the day relate) filled the Academy from pit to gallery the address was delivered, and shortly after published in other tongues than English.

From the *Universe*—a weekly published in Philadelphia —I learn that copies of this Oration, whereof the first edition consisted of ten thousand, sold at fifteen cents apiece; moreover that entrance to the Academy was twenty-five cents a ticket; and that an audience of five thousand persons greeted the orator, while two thousand would-be listeners (it says) were barred from the Academy doors.*

In thus clinging to his purpose to lecture though in plain disregard of his ordinary's injunction, whose court, we may observe, no matter what the worth of his plea—of political, or ethical, necessity, was clearly within the limits of his own proper jurisdiction, the Doctor was clearly (on technical grounds at least) wrong in act, in overt contempt of court.

While insuring large relief for the starving clients of

* The scribe, himself at the time in Rome, remembers seeing placarded on the walls of Propaganda announcements of this Oration to be had at a penny a copy in Italian, French, and English.

Father Lavelle,* the upshot of the Doctor's daring was (as might have been and was expected) the withdrawal from him of the priestly "faculties" of the diocese, restored however some months later on his making public apology from St. Mary's altar-steps at the Hill.

We subjoin two documents (in their entirety) never published, we believe, that mark the reconciliation of priest and prelate, the Doctor by a letter of self-humiliation as well as disavowal of sympathy with secret societies, addressed to Bishop Wood (on Monday, December 5, 1864,) having paved the way to a full understanding between them.

The following is part of the Doctor's letter:

"I beg leave, most respectfully, to offer you my most sincere apology for proceedings on my part which have given you offence, and for which I am willing to make every reparation. I regret that I delivered a lecture on the 23d May, contrary to your prohibition, and I most humbly ask pardon for the dissatisfaction caused thereby.

"I regret that in the said lecture there was language offensive to yourself, the Archbishop of Dublin, and other dignitaries of the Church, and I hereby retract every such offensive word."

The same day the bishop penned the following acknowledgment:

[BISHOP WOOD TO DOCTOR MORIARTY.]

"CATHEDRAL, LOGAN SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA,
"December 5, 1864.

"VERY REV. DR. MORIARTY, O.S.A.

"*Very Rev. Dear Father:*—I have received with extreme gratification your most welcome note of this date. You could not have made a more complete and satisfactory reparation for the error committed. I accept it most cordially, as containing all I require or desire. It restores completely those amicable relations which I sincerely grieved should have ever been disturbed. It elevates you (permit me to say it) in my esteem both as a man and a Priest of God. I will not wait for you to signify a desire for the restoration of your faculties, but request you to consider this note as a concession of them, which only

* The *Universe* (of a couple of months later) published the acknowledgment, dated "July 15, 1864," of the receipt by Archbishop McHale, of Tuam, Ireland, of the sum of "£112, one shilling and tenpence" for Father Lavelle.

needs your acceptance. I beg to tender you the expression of my sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, and to assure you that I shall ever remain your sincere friend and obedient servant in Christ,

"† James F. Wood,
"*Bishop of Philadelphia.*"

[Doctor Moriarty to his Parishioners.]

"St. Mary's Church, Chestnut Hill,
"Philadelphia, December 6, 1864.

"A sense of Christian duty has obliged me to make reparation for all offensive proceedings in connection with a lecture delivered by me in this city, on the 23d of last May. Accordingly, I have presented to the Right Reverend Bishop of Philadelphia an apology for acting contrary to his prohibition, and a retraction of every word offensive to him and other dignitaries of the Church. The reparation thus made has given satisfaction to the Right Reverend Bishop, as will be seen in the annexed letter.* I cannot express adequately my gratitude for the kind condescension wherewith the Right Reverend Prelate has admitted me to reconciliation, but I pray that my deficiency may in a measure be supplied by an increase of veneration for his Christian magnanimity, on the part of his whole flock.

"P. E. Moriarty."

Chiefly instrumental as peacemaker in this ecclesiastical storm was the late highly respected and very lovable Father Sourin, whose part in healing the breach between chief and subject was communicated by him to the late Doctor Stanton (of St. Augustine's,) at the time superior of the brotherhood, and to an old member of St. Mary's by whom it was told to the writer.

A few days later as earnest no doubt of good feeling the ordinary, whose esteem for the many gifts of the Doctor had not been withheld, invited him to preach in the newly-blessed cathedral on Logan Square,† (in Philadelphia,)—

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* The words "in the annexed letter" refer (we suppose) to the foregoing communication from the bishop.

† The Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul (in Philadelphia), whose corner-stone had been laid by Bishop Kenrick on Sunday, September 6, 1846, was blessed by Bishop Wood similarly on Sunday, November 20, 1864, a few days (as will be noticed) before the peace making referred to in the text.

a gracefulness on the part of Bishop Wood, that was reciprocated shortly after by the Doctor's delivering a sermon from the Cathedral pulpit. Thus the wrong done by Doctor Moriarty was in a measure at least repaired, though after all we are constrained to reflect, that (as oftentimes has been witnessed in story) rarely, if ever, is any evil that so-called reformers profess themselves desirous to uproot, so grave to the social republic as the evil itself that results from their schism.

With this digression we return to St. Mary's. From the very outset of our mission at the Hill, nay, even before the opening itself of the church, loomed up for weighty consideration a matter of vital importance, one too that brooking of no delay, could not be set aside, but was to be faced by the well-wishers of that shrine,—the question namely how funds were to be raised for building the temple and presbytery, and the purchase of the land needed therefor.

The venerable ordinary of the diocese (as we have seen) in laying down the conditions under which he would sanction the scheme of a mission at the Hill, had required that without in any way taxing his resources (meagre enough at best) the church there should be built and an incumbent found by the people themselves.

We have seen too how Doctor Moriarty was persuaded to enlist as first rector of that mission. A few words now as to the various devices employed for gathering funds for the church. Like most other infant creations in the ecclesiastical as well as secular universe St. Mary's mission struggled along as best it could for bare existence especially in the early years of its organization. Our Lady needed a complete outfit.

At the Hill, albeit Mammon had its votaries as well as elsewhere there was but little surplus money among the Faithful, who what few of them were blessed with more

than a mere livelihood, were unable to do little else than rear their church and presbytery. From the *Memorandum Book* * (referred to ahead)—the only source in our hands for information relating to the finances of St. Mary's,—nor have we ever heard of any other,—we learn that among the chief subscribers to the new church, the only ones in fact that gave largely of their means, were Joseph Middleton;† Morris Longstreth, his half-brother, at the time non-Catholic; Samuel H. Austin, the lawyer and former owner of St. Mary's church-lot, also non-Catholic; and William L. Hirst, chief of Bishop Wood's professional law-counsellors, each one of these setting down his name for two hundred and fifty dollars.

By March 8, (1855,) other sums amounting to $354 had been subscribed.‡

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* With the exception of this record (in St. Mary's archives) all the church accounts for the first two years are missing. All we know of the financial condition of St. Mary's (at this period) is a statement (in Father Harnett's hand) that the church receipts from July to December, 1857, amounted to $1232.94; and for a similar six months' period (from January to June of the following year—1858), to $901.69; the income for the third year of St. Mary's laborers thus being equal to $2134.63.

† During some six months or so in '55, the creative period of St. Mary's, this gentleman, setting aside his own private interests,—farming, quarries, and the like,—gave his time almost wholly to the work of building that church. He alone superintended the mechanics, purchased material, made all contracts (with himself naturally as personally liable for their fulfilment), and with the opening weather in the spring of '55, in company with the Doctor, though more frequently alone, scoured the country for funds.

The following entries may be found in his *Memorandum Book:* "1855, Sept. 26, Loan on six months note from Patrick McHugh $1000; Oct. 17, Loan from Mechanics Ins. Co. $1125; Oct. 25, From estate of Joseph Fitzgerald per Fr. Stanton, $700."

‡ From reference to the old "engagement-book" preserved at Musical Fund Hall, a notable place for assemblies in the '50s, I have gathered the following items relating to Doctor Moriarty's efforts to raise money for his mission:

"1856, Wednesday, October 29, Lecture by Doctor Moriarty. Nearly seven hundred present.

"1856, Thursday, November 20, Lecture by Dr. Moriarty. About five hundred present.

"1857, Easter Monday, April 13, Fair for St. Mary's, Chestnut Hill, every day to Saturday.

"April 13 poor business cold rainy
" 14 good business clear and cold
" 15 squall of snow
" 16 cold
" 17 snowy
" 18 crowded to excess"

(Then forced to migrate from Musical Fund Hall because of prior engagements the 'fair" was transferred to Jayne's Hall on Chestnut Street, where it continued the second week.)

Other items (in the same book) relating to contributions to St. Mary's are as follows:

One William Mangan collected $23.

For a lecture and concert in Concert Hall in Philadelphia Dr. Moriarty received $215.

For the same purpose he lectured in Harrisburg, (but no amount has been set down.)

A William Dougherty was church-collector at Jenkintown, while Fathers Stanton and Gallagher are named as collectors elsewhere, likely in Philadelphia and its neighborhood. Thus Fr. Stanton is credited with handing in the sum of $200 gathered on the North Pennsylvania railroad. In Philadelphia, St. Augustine's parishioners gave at one time $600; and on September 7, (1855,) $300.

Among the names of contributors to St. Mary's should not be omitted mention of Owen Sheridan, now many years deceased, a gentleman-farmer, of considerable means, a sociable, very pleasant mannered, kind-hearted man, whose residence near Highland Station was the building used some years ago as a summer-boarding place known as "Highland House." Though at the time a trustee of the Presbyterian church at the Hill, Owen Sheridan formerly had been a parishioner, as too were all his immediate family—parents and brothers—of St. Augustine's Catholic church in town, whence some time during the rectorship of Rev. Doctor Hurley, O.S.A., because of some disagreement between him and young Sheridan, the latter left the Church never to return save perhaps in spirit. Yet towards the erection of St. Mary's Owen Sheridan was what we might call very liberal in his contribution, as in giving Joseph Middleton, one of Our Lady's collectors, the sum of twenty-five dollars for that shrine, he promised more if called upon.

Moreover among other devices for providing "the sinews of war," from almost the very opening day itself of St. Mary's, a usage was introduced by the Doctor of having a special collection to pay off the church debt taken up on the first Sunday of each month at the door, as the Faithful

entered for Mass, each one being expected to pay a quarter-dollar on entrance.

Among the earliest memories of the writer is the picture of the Doctor in the church vestibule seated as was his fashion at a small table, whereon the gifts of the Faithful were laid, at the left-hand of the door. On Mass-hour drawing near his place would be taken by some one or other of the parishioners, for several years usually by the writer's father; and later on by the Doctor's assistant. The earliest figures we can gather for these Sunday "plate" and "door collections" are the following for six weeks during the summer of '57:*

July 19, Sunday	$4.35	August 15 & 16	$6.05
" 26, "	5.62	" 23, Sunday	5.25
August 2, Monthly	36.50	" 30, "	6.41
" " Sunday	4.40		
" 9, "	3.85	Total collections	$72.43

As we are not of that school of hero-worshippers that hold it as *quasi* axiom that in virtue of his calling a churchman is therefore above criticism even as human being, we give room for this reflection,—aspersion, if you choose the term,—on the Doctor's lack of administrative powers. He doesn't seem to have had any gift for concentrating his energies in work; nor was he in any sense an organizer of men. Equipped as he undoubtedly was in spirit in many ways for the fulfilment of his priestly duties, Doctor Moriarty like many another genius of marked positiveness in character at no time in his career seems (as far as we can judge) to have displayed any skill in affairs. Care of temporalities was not among his gifts; he had no liking for finance; while in business-matters he was as unsophisticated almost as a child.

On Sundays and holidays as a matter of course he was

* In Appendix D will be given in summarized form the expenses incurred in building St. Mary's church and presbytery.

wont to make the usual "calls" from the pulpit,—notices (to the congregation) of such topics as banns, fasts, feasts, and the like, even in solicitation of their aid with money or help for this purpose or that, but with the publication of such routine matters, delivered in a somewhat perfunctory sort of way as if the task were distasteful, he seemed glad it was over and himself free to begin what he always delighted in—speaking. Or, maybe, we'd better say that the Doctor could not bring himself down to the dry details of worldly affairs—to the dickerings and palaverings of the market-place. Hence he was not of the race of church-builders. During the whole period of building operations at St. Mary's the Doctor was rarely at the Hill, and, if at all, on visit at most to one of his prospective parishioners. So whatever work was to be done on the premises, had to be looked after by others.

By 1857, the expenses incurred in establishing St. Mary's reached the sum of about $20,181.29; that is, $2,500 for the land; $14,541.91 laid out on the church itself; and $3,139.38 for the presbytery,—a burden on the mission, which, though of itself not large, was not lifted until some twenty years later.

To be excepted however from what may seem a charge to the Doctor's discredit, albeit in no way dishonoring to his name, was his success in appeals (referred to ahead) for any worthy cause, as charities of whatsoever kind, wherein the Doctor was perhaps unapproachable in his ability to fill the exchequers of others.

Yet that we may not be charged with unkindness, nor even seem unjust in our censures on the Doctor's defectiveness, if so may be termed his unfamiliarity, in affairs, this should be pleaded in his behalf. He was no longer young, in fact when in '55 he settled down at the Hill, had passed the meridian of life, was near his fifty-second year, having spent the greater part of his busy days almost exclusively

in care of souls,—in pulpit, in confessional, without ever (we believe) having been thrown on his own resources.*

Briefly for many years debt hung over St. Mary's, nor was any improvement made in church or presbytery, until 1875, when Rector McEvoy paid off the ground-rent on the church-land, thereby freeing the mission from all money burdens.

Yet from the beginning of his rectorship the Doctor had set himself manfully to the work of relieving "the Hermitage" from distress, despite his lack of organizing energy, his old-time enemy—the gout, and his now burdening years.

Deeply charmed by the eloquence of his sermons and with admiration for his manifold gifts as speaker, listeners were never wanting when it was the Doctor's "turn" to preach, especially during his early mission-years at the Hill, when on Sunday nights the expository cast of his morning discourses yielded place to the full flow of his oratorical genius—of erudition, poetry, anecdote.

On such occasions among his frequent hearers were the non-Catholics—Mr. Austin, David Webster, another Philadelphia lawyer, (both of whom had pews at St. Mary's,) and perhaps earnestest of all the gigantic 'Squire Snyder, who lived near by, a man six feet two inches, a book-lover, book-reader, and founder perhaps of the first public library at Chestnut Hill;† then William W. Piper, and the writer's own grand-mother, an ancient dame of some seventy-eight winters.‡

In contrast to the state of comparative wealth and comfort among the Faithful in later years, here is the amount of Christmas Day offerings,—a twofold guage of the spirit

* Three years later (as said) Dr. Moriarty, resigning the superiorship of his brehrent in the United States, was succeeded as commissary-general by the late Rev. P. A. Stanton, of St. Augustine's, Philadelphia.

† Mr. Hotchkin, from whose work I gather these details anent the 'Squire, says that "his circulating library" was closed in 1840. (Page 427.)

‡ Margaret Middleton, mother of Joseph, born January 20, 1776, died August 1, 1860, aged eighty-four years, and is buried at Fair Hill graveyard, in Philadelphia.

and pocket of the donors thereof,—of their generosity as well as their poverty, or wealth, during the first twenty years of St. Mary's corporate existence.*

CHRISTMAS DAY OFFERINGS—1857-1875.

1857	$38.39†	1866	$30.
1858	25.76	1867	32.66
1859	18.90	1868	315.
1860	19.50	1869	250.
1861	13.75	1870	180.
1862	16.	1871	82.50
1863	13.30	1872	85.
1864	127.50‡	1875	180.
1865	26.50		

The following excerpts from the account-books, in their showing some other sources of church revenue, will perhaps be of interest to our readers, who thereby will learn how money was gathered and spent at the Hill.

(1) In the early years of St. Mary's the rent from the front pews was $20 a year apiece. For the eleven months from August, '57, to June, '58, the total income from pews was $307.45.

(2) In June, 1859, the sum of $119 was raised at a concert, (given presumably at the Hill.) The expenses whereof were as follows: for "rent of hall $10.50; R. R. fare for singers $7; advertisements $1; printing tickets, placards & carriage of piano $1.50; tuning of ditto $2.50; refreshments for singers—wine, lemonade, ice-cream, cakes, etc. $7.17.

(3) On September 19, of the same year (1859) was handed over to the Doctor the sum of $27, collected for the altar by Miss Kate Fox and others,—the earliest collection for this purpose of record having the name of a donor.

(4) In 1860, the collection taken up on September 9, for the Holy Father—Pope Pius IX.—a pious, very filial custom introduced that same year into the diocese by Bishop Wood—brought in the sum of $104, an amount that makes Chestnut Hill rank as thirty-seventh

* The church-books for 1855–1856 (as noted ahead) and for 1873–1874 are missing. So we begin with the Christmas of 1857. In 1858, we may observe, Easter Day collection—the first time it is specified—amounted to $5.40.

† "Including collection for altar, etc."

‡ "Including coal collection."

among the "country churches" (in care of that ordinary) in its generosity towards that very lovable Father of the Faithful." *

Then (from the same account-books) we gather these other items that the antiquarian may find of interest:

(1) In 1859, on August 29, Messrs. Cornelius & Baker were paid for a ciborium, holy-water "vat", and aspersorium $16.

(2) In the same year, gas was introduced into the church and house.

(3) In 1864, was laid the pavement in front of the property, for which Robert Morrissy collected $17 and James O'Neill $6.23.

(4) In 1866, the Sisters of St. Joseph's made an offering to Our Lady's shrine of a silver chalice.

(5) In 1868, from a lecture delivered by the Doctor on March 22, he received $115.25;

(6) and two years later (1870) from another given on December 22, $969.

(7) On July 4, 1872, a pic-nic held under auspices of the church netted $835.89.

(8) While a "fair" held in Masonic Hall (at the Hill) in August, the year after, brought to the church treasury the sum of $2000.

The first choir at St. Mary's organized in 1855, shortly after the church was opened, had John Bischoff (elsewhere named,) possessor of a deep bass voice, as leader and organist, who was succeeded by two members of his family, first by his son John, then, in 1880, by his daughter Ella, wife of Edward Bardon, who continued at the key-board until the close of 1897.†

In the early years of his choral leadership Mr. Bischoff

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* From reference to the published *Report* of "Peter's Pence" gathered that year in Philadelphia, I find that of the diocesan collection for the Supreme Pontiff, which amounted to $29,582.64, the city churches (twenty-eight in number) are credited with $17,808.47, with St. Augustine's heading the list with $2400; the country churches (among which Our Lady of Consolation has most unaccountably been classed) with $11,519.17, of which our Wissahickon Valley shrine contributed (as said) $104.

The other two Augustinian mission churches (in Philadelphia diocese) rank in the above *Report* as follows: St. Denis', of "West Haverford," with $275, as twelfth among the country churches, and St. Thomas', of Villanova, with $170, as twenty-sixth.

In the same *Report*, too, the sum of $255 has been credited to nine "Communities of Religious Women," one of them, our Sisters of St. Joseph, giving $55.

† In this year was engaged as organist and choir-leader Miss Annie Reilly (now Sullivan), who entered in service on Friday evening, December 31 (1897).

was satisfied (as appears from the church-records) with his by no means exorbitant, nor undeserved salary of $25 a quarter.

With him other singers in the infancy of St. Mary's choir, all named (one excepted) in earlier pages of this memoir, were Mary Praeder, her step-brother James Hughes, who had a charmingly clear tenor voice; Lydia B. Cooke, an Episcopalian, later received into the Church, still later second wife of William L. Hirst;* Delia Elkins, also Episcopalian, at the time living with her parents near Roxborough, and later a very pious and edifying member of St. Mary's; Lydia C. Longstreth of "Valley Green", and a person named Rudolph from Manayunk. Subsequently appeared as choristers three children of the organist Amelia, Ella and John Bischoff, and three daughters of Joseph Middleton,—Margaret, Mary and Florence.

Three years after the opening of St. Mary's, the Hill was still further Christianized by the advent of a Catholic sisterhood—a band of teachers devoted especially to the training of youth in the laws of God—in supernatural and natural faith, in divine and human science.

In the early spring of 1858, (April 25,) "Monticello" for the last twenty years home of Joseph Middleton was sold by him to the Sisters of St. Joseph, who sending thither a colony of their members from McSherrystown, a very out-of-the-way corner in Southern Pennsylvania, where they had been settled for some years, made Chestnut Hill their chief dwelling-place in the eastern part of that State.† The late revered sister of their Society—Mother St. John—was first superior of the young institution at the foot of the Hill.

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* On January 18, 1859, William Lucas Hirst and Lydia Barton Cooke married at St. Mary's in the presence of the Doctor and many other witnesses.

† At McSherrystown the Sisters of their Society from St. John's, in Philadelphia, had established a colony of their order on May 4, 1854, in succession to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who had migrated thence to Eden Hall, near Torresdale, on the Delaware.

According to the records in the office of the Commissioner of Deeds (in Philadelphia) the first purchase of land made by this sisterhood at Chestnut Hill, (for which they paid $11,750,) was that part of "Monticello"—the tract of seven acres, one rood, and $28\frac{99}{100}$ perches, on the old "Manatawney Road", (so the deed describes the transfer,) that had been sold on June 18, 1839, to Joseph Middleton and wife by Merchant Jones of Philadelphia.*

In Philadelphia the first establishment of these Sisters in Pennsylvania, who had gone thither from St. Louis in Missouri, in 1847, was the charge of St. John's Orphan Asylum at that time in the building (now torn down) on Chestnut Street below Thirteenth, known as "Gothic Mansion." And on Monday, December 27, of that same year (1847,) in the near by church of St. John the Evangelist, by Rev. Francis Xavier Gartland, rector of that church, and afterwards bishop of Savannah, the religious habit of their society was first given in Philadelphia, the recipients—both of them candidates for choir-service, being Mary Meyers, of Germany, and Margaret Lovett, who received respectively the names in religion of Sister M. Apollonia and Sister M. Salome.

Both these religious are now dead—the former Mother Apollonia at Mount St. Joseph's at the Hill, on Monday, April 24, 1899, aged seventy-seven years, who before her entrance into their society was at the asylum on Chestnut Street to receive the first band of sisters, drafted thither from their home on the Mississippi; then spent one year teaching Indians at St. Paul's in Minnesota, and forty-eight years at St. John's Orphan Asylum in West Philadelphia. The latter Mother Salome, at the time of her death, July

* In all three parcels of land had been conveyed at the date set in the text by Mr. Jones to Mr. Middleton and his wife Lydia Cooke,—one of sixty acres and a hundred perches, another of fourteen and a half acres, and a third of twenty-six acres and thirty-three perches.

1, 1878, superioress of Our Lady Star of the Sea in Baltimore, was aged sixty-six years.

In relation to the foundation of this shrine of religion and charity, the first at the foot of the Hill, we give some details drawn from the academy archives themselves,* an account that apart from the interest naturally aroused by the story of their primitive mode of life in the Wissahickon valley, will be found not lacking in other features of Christian energy that are wont to accompany Christian—poverty, self-denial, suffering, trustfulness in God, perseverance and—triumph.

"The Sisters", (so I gather from their chronicles,) came to Chestnut Hill in 1858, to open a novice-house and boarding-school, besides making it the residence of the general superior, who thereby could more easily direct the dependent houses of the sisterhood in Philadelphia.

"On Monday August 16, (1858,) at ten o'clock in the morning, Mother St. John, who in the world had been known as Julia Alexia Fournier,† accompanied by Sister Mary Salome and Sister Mary Monica, the first-named superior of St. Patrick's school in Pottsville, the latter of St. Joseph's Hospital in Philadelphia, arrived at the Middleton mansion.‡ Owing to some misunderstanding about the time of their arrival, no provision had been made for their reception, as if God had willed that this institution should be begun in absolute poverty.

"The three sisters found nothing in the house; but providentially they had brought some dinner in a basket; there were no chairs, nor furniture of any kind; at meal-time the dinner was spread on the floor, and the three sisters partook of it in primitive fashion, seated on the floor.

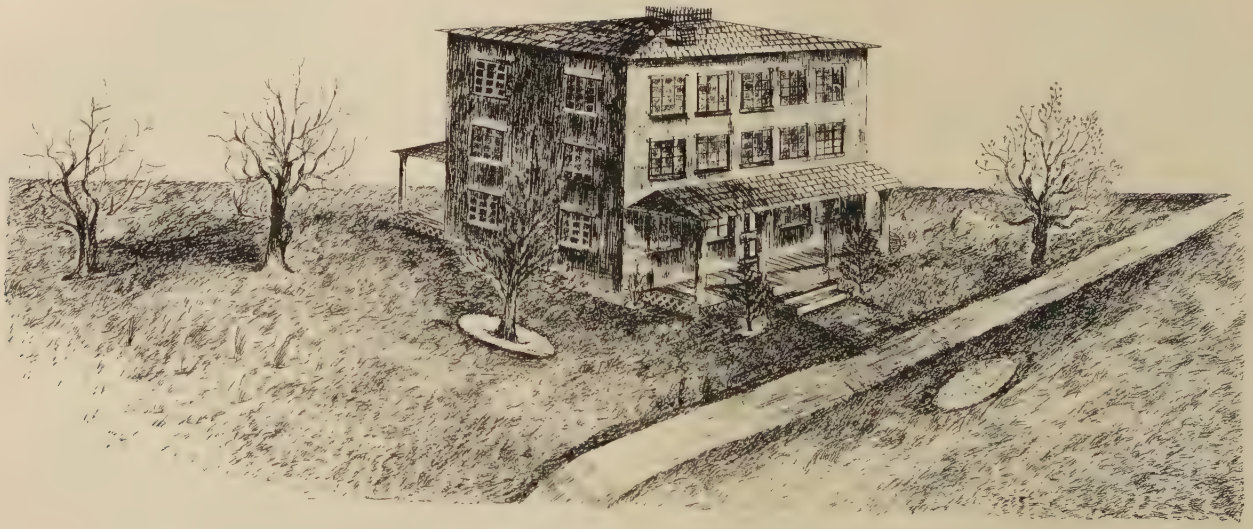
"In the afternoon of the same day, Father Edward M. Mullen, O.S.A., rector of St. Mary's at the Hill, visited them; shortly after came Rev. Father McLaughlin, rector of St. Ann's church, in Philadelphia, with Sister Stanislaus Ghegan, superioress of the parish-schools at that church, and several other sisters; when all went in a body to

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* From information imparted to the writer (in 1899) by the venerable sister at the head of Mount St. Joseph's Academy, Mother Mary Clement.

† In our SOCIETY'S *Records* (for 1899, x. 245) is an excellent portrait of this very worthy religious.

‡ This building is still standing, though encased (as it were) in what is now the convent of the sisterhood. A picture accompanying this paper shows "Monticello" as it stood at the time of the visit of the sisters related in the text, in 1858. It was drawn by one of the artist-sisters attached to the academy from data supplied by the writer.



"MONTICELLO" IN 1858, FIRST HOUSE OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA.

the banks of the Wissahickon, and standing where now is placed the shrine of the Sacred Heart of Our Lord they chanted the *Ave Maris Stella* to the accompaniment of the rushing waters of that stream.

"On the evening (of the same day August 16,) Mrs. Thomas Martin,* a poor woman living near by came to offer help to the sisters, and for that evening and the two following days, the sisters received from her charity all that they ate. They slept on hay strewn over the floor.

"Five days later on Sunday, August 21, the Right Reverend Bishop Neumann blessed the house and placed it under the patronage of the good St. Joseph.† On the same day he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass—the first ever said at Monticello—in the room of the old mansion, that serves as convent-parlor; ‡ the bishop's Mass was served by Mr. Middleton—former owner of the place. The bishop in earnest and feeling language addressed the sisters bidding them encouragement, and appointing Fr. [*Edward M.*] Mullen as their chaplain and confessor.

"There being no altar, nor tabernacle in their newly blessed chapel, the Blessed Sacrament was not kept in reserve until from Sunday, September 5. On Tuesday, August 24, the second Mass in the convent-parlor was celebrated by Rev. Felix Barbelin, S.J., of St. Joseph's church in Philadelphia. § On this same day Right Reverend Bishop Wood, (coadjutor to the former named prelate,) with Rev. Nicholas Cantwell (now ‖ vicar-general of the diocese) of St. Philip's church, and ten other priests visited the convent to welcome us to our new home, and contributed funds for the erection of a grotto, or shrine, to be dedicated to Our Lady of Consolation on the banks of the Wissahickon, at the very spot where eight days before the sisters had formally by an act of religion taken possession of the place".¶

Thus reads the first chapter of the Book of Genesis (as may not unfittingly be styled the story) of the settlement

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* We have referred to this Samaritan-like Christian in earlier pages.

† Some two or three years before, as the writer well remembers, "Monticello" had been visited by Bishop Timon, of Buffalo, in company with his fellow-religious—Father Domenec, of Germantown church.

‡ This "parlor" is the first room to the left on entrance from the main door of the convent.

§ For many years prior to the opening of their chapel in the '80s,—the corner-stone whereof was laid on Our Lady's Assumption Day, in 1884,—the sisters allowed the presence of near-by Faithful at their community-Mass, a usage, however, that now for several years has been done away with.

‖ Father Cantwell died many years after the above lines were written,—on Wednesday, November 8, 1899.

¶ This shrine of Our Lady of Consolation, erected in 1858, was replaced in 1867 with the present one, dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Our Lord.

of this sisterhood in the Wissahickon valley in the year of Our Lord, 1858.

In regard to their choice of this home on the Wissahickon I gather the following account from the archives (already cited.)

"Negotiations for a property that would be suitable for a novitiate seem to have been under way long before that object was attained.

"In a letter, dated 'Oct. 7, 1856,' Bishop Neumann, writing to Rev. Mother St. John, speaks of trying to secure a house and land in Kellyville [*in Delaware County*], but says that the one offered is beyond the sister's present means.

"'A novitiate', he continues, 'is certainly of great importance, if not an urgent necessity, and therefore I feel great confidence in God that He will let us have one before long. If your ingenuity can devise some means to help you through, I shall be very glad, and do, with pleasure what I can.'

"Under date of November 6th, of the same year, the bishop mentions that Rev. Dr. Moriarty had spoken to Mr. Middleton to learn definitely on what terms the Middleton property could be secured. 'He [*Dr. Moriarty*]', says the bishop, 'has very generously promised to go from church to church and preach charity sermons'—to secure the necessary funds. 'He volunteers his own services and those of the other Rev. Fathers as confessors.'

"In regard to the money being procured, the bishop was not sanguine, and advised further delay.

"Under date of February 27, 1858, he again writes that Bishop Wood had examined two properties then under consideration, and says: that both himself and Bishop Wood thought the property at Chestnut Hill preferable."

Moreover the journal subjoins that while the negotiators for the purchase of "Monticello" were Bishops Neumann and Wood, it was Rev. Michael F. Gallagher, an Augustinian of Philadelphia, that called the attention of Mother St. John to the desirableness of the place, and urged her earnestly to buy it.

On the sisters entering into possession of their new country-home they christened the place "Mount St. Joseph", in loving honor of their great patron—holy spouse of the ever blessed Mother of God; and soon after (as is

their wont) opened a school for the higher instruction of Catholic maidens.*

Referring again to the archives, we learn that

"class-work began on Monday, October 4, 1858, in the east front room opposite the chapel; the pupils numbered eighteen, the first of them to be enrolled on the academic register being the following, viz.: Annie McCann, of New Orleans; Mary Harley, of Philadelphia; Ellen Ritchie, of the same city; and Mary Durney, of Virginia, all of them lately pupils of the sisters at their McSherrystown Academy.† The first directress of the new institution was Sister Mary Stephen Hesse."

And two years after their advent to the Hill, in September, 1860, at the request of Father Harnett, second assistant of Dr. Moriarty, the sisters—two of them—undertook charge of the Sunday School attached to St. Mary's, (hitherto taught by volunteers from the congregation,) with four girls and three boys in attendance on the first day, a number that in the next three months increased to twenty-two.‡

Because of its serviceableness to the future chronicler, who may essay to pen the story of this Wissahickon sanctuary of religion and science, we here record the names of the twelve Sisters, that formed the first community at "Monticello"—the little hill, christened Mount St. Joseph, a band of apostolic exiles as it were from their former home in Adams County.§ They were

(1) Mother M. St. John (Julia Alexia Fournier,) born at Arbois, in France, died October 15, 1875, aged sixty-one years. She was first superioress at Mount St. Joseph.

(2) Sr. M. John (Elizabeth Kieran,) sister of Rev. Thomas Kieran, deceased, and Rev. Dr. William Kieran, born in Armagh in Ireland, died March 27, 1888, aged sixty-three years.

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* The earliest reference to this shrine of learning in the Catholic papers of Philadelphia is an advertisement (dated October 2, 1858, in the *Catholic Herald*) of the "New Young Ladies' Academy recently established at Chestnut Hill."

† Enrolled among the first scholastics were also two daughters of Joseph Middleton.

‡ At present the Sunday School roll of St. Mary's Christian Doctrine class bears the names of two hundred and fifty-one scholars,—123 boys, 128 girls.

§ In the subjoined list—a veritable muster-roll of honor—we add (in curved brackets) the names these pioneers of scholastic civilization at the Hill bore in the world.

(3) Sr. M. Stephen (Mary Hesse,) born in Westphalia in Prussia. (Still living.)

(4) Sr. M. Victorine (Catharine Crane,) first cousin of the Augustinian Father Peter Crane, born in County Wexford in Ireland, died September 24, 1885, aged fifty-six.

(5) Sr. M. Agatha (Catharine Hynes,) born in County Clare, in Ireland, died October 13, 1859, aged twenty-three.

(6) Sr. M. Sylvester (Jane Eichelberger,) born in York in Pennsylvania. (Still living.)

(7) Sr. M. Delphine (Elizabeth Patton,) born in County Donegal in Ireland. (Still living.)

(8) Sr. M. Mt. Carmel (Eliza Egan,) born in Kings County in Ireland. (Still living.)

(9) Sr. M. Cyrille (Mary Duffin,) born in Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. (Still living.)

(10) Sr. M. Emerentia (Mary Sneeringer,) born at Conewago in Adams County in Pennsylvania. (Still living.)

With the above choir-sisters were these two lay-sisters:

(11) Sr. M. Patrick (Mary Ward,) born in County Tyrone in Ireland, died February 8, 1893, aged seventy.

(12) Sr. M. Philip (Sarah McAleer,) born (in the same county) died February 18, 1869, aged thirty-two.

Besides the above-named sisters were the five following candidates for religious profession, all of whom joined the sisterhood, whose names in religion we put in curved brackets:

(1) Rose McCullough (Sr. M. Clara,) born in Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. (Still living.)

(2) Ellen O'Donnell (Sr. M. Laurentia,) born in County Tipperary in Ireland. (Still living.)

(3) Isabella Busby (Sr. M. St. Edward,) born at McSherrystown in Pennsylvania, died August 17, 1862, aged twenty-two.

(4) Matilda Sneeringer (Sr. M. Othilia,) born at Conewago in Pennsylvania, died October 11, 1862, aged twenty.

(5) Jane Barry (Sr. M. Sophia,) born in Baltimore in Maryland. (Still living.)*

Succeeding before long even better perhaps than they had dreamed, for the world sometimes bids hearty welcome

* Thus (as the reader will notice) only eight of the first twelve sisters (of 1858) have gone to their reward; only two of their first vested novices. Religion, besides being of comfort to the spirit, truly lengthens one's years.

even to virtue, these votaries of the Christian Minerva soon began to add improvement to improvement to their estate, till their little hill "Monticello" of its former Jeffersonian owner began to wear a crown of stately buildings devoted (as well as the inmates of them—teachers, pupils) to special service in one way or other of the Most High; through science some, through art others, all through religion, which (at its best) is the fullest development of the human spirit —the science of the human intellect, the art of the human will,—in brief the refinement and glorification of human genius in its contemplation of Truth, in its realization of Good.

With this allusion to what we may style the wealth of intellectual monuments of Christianity in the guise of true womanhood at Mt. St. Joseph's, it is observable that there also are not wanting samples of material art and worth in the many shrines, statues, paintings, some of these best pieces of pencil-work by inmates themselves of that cloister. Of specimens of such Christianizing energy we note two, —one a neat and very faithful reproduction of the famed *Santa Casa*—the Holy House of Loreto, on the rising-ground just back of their academy; * the other a XVIIth century bit of plate, venerable for age not only, but choice even for the by no means unskilful chasing on its pediment and shaft,—a chalice treasured in the convent-sacristy, and used daily, I'm told, at the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. This sacred vessel,—so reads its story,—made (apparently) at Prague in Bohemia, in 1686, was brought to the New World by the late venerable Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, and by him given to the sisters.

On this chalice are two time-worn legends engraved— one on the inner part of its base, the other around the

* In the summer of 1897 the erection of this *Santa Casa* was undertaken by the sisters as a votive offering, and the following December, on the feast itself commemorative of the Translation of the Holy House from Nazareth in Judea to Italy, the shrine was blessed by Rector Herlihy, incumbent at St. Mary's.

lower outside rim of its pediment. Inside the inscription reads:

Amici Per F. Petrúm ô Kearny fieri fecerúnt 1686

That is,—

"*In 1686 friends had me wrought through the agency of Father Peter O'Kearny.*"

Outside:

☩ Ora p^ro Moriarto Kearny Decano : et : Vic^o Apost^co Clunmacnosense : et : p^o Germano F. Petro : Kearny : sa : Theol^æ : Lectore : et : Gurdiano Pragense qui me fieri fecerunt An^o Do^ni : 1688

Which in English means:

"*Pray for Moriarty Kearny Dean and Vicar Apostolic of Clonmacnois* [in Ireland] *and for his brother Father Peter Kearny Lector in Sacred Theology and* [Franciscan] *Guardian at Prague, who had me wrought in the year of Our Lord 1688.*"

The noble results displayed through the Christianizing energy of these good sisters especially in the beginning, under the leadership of their heroic Mother St. John, with the many drawbacks to success bravely met and overcome, would take many more pages to tell than this sketch can afford.

For some time during the early years of their residence at Mount St. Joseph's, the front parlor was fitted up as chapel, where Mass was first said by Bishop Neumann. While the room opposite was turned into study-hall. In default of suitable quarters the sisters used the house-cellar as place for meals, the rest of the building being given over nearly wholly to the accommodation of their scholars.

Despite the many changes made around the old mansion since 1858, inside it remains almost the same—in the rooms especially on the first floor, among them the "back parlor" —scene in '54 of the baptismal rite conferred for the first time at "Monticello" by a priest of Holy Church.

On the transfer of "Monticello" to the sisters in '58, Joseph Middleton took up his residence for a year or so at the Hill on Summit Street, (opened by Samuel H. Austin about '54,) until the completion of his new house "Woodside" on the hill-top overlooking Council Rock referred to in earlier pages, where he passed the last twenty-eight years of his life. (At his death this part of his estate was sold to Chancellor C. English, its present owner.)

We make room here for a petty episode that saddened in a measure the last days of this veteran member of St. Mary's. Shortly after the building of that church, Doctor Moriarty in recognition of this gentleman's services in the early trials of Our Lady's mission, promised him sepulture in the holy spot for himself and family. So in the summer of '85, in anticipation of his not far distant end,—he died two years after,—with full sanction of St. Mary's authorities (as well as of the ordinary of the diocese,) Joseph Middleton began the erection of a tomb alongside the south tower-wall of Our Lady. But the generation of St. Mary's mission-pioneers having well nigh passed away, some local antagonisms (springing from—who knows what motives?—) gave rise to the cry that the privilege about to be granted to Joseph Middleton was unmerited. Wherefore rather than have any part in wounding the peace of the parish, that was being menaced even where least to be expected, the Doctor's pledge was not pressed to fulfilment, and the half-begun tomb was abandoned.*

* Joseph Middleton died at his residence, "Woodside," on Tuesday, October 18, 1887, aged seventy-three years, his relict—Lydia Cooke—on Monday (in Holy Week), March 31, 1896, aged eighty-four, the remains of the builder of St. Mary's and his spouse now resting in Holy Sepulchre cemetery near the Hill. Of the nine children born to this couple three entered the service of the Church,—a son, writer of this memoir, and two daughters, members of the Institute of Our Lady of Mercy.

In Appendix E we give a list of Chestnut Hillers that have entered the ecclesiastical state.

(To be continued.)

ONE OF PHILADELPHIA'S SOLDIERS

IN THE

WAR OF 1812.

BY ISABEL M. O'REILLY.

THE letters contained in this collection were written by Patrick McDonogh, lieutenant in the Second Artillery, United States army. He was born in Dublin, in which city his parents, William and Margaret Andrews McDonogh, resided, and of which they were natives. There is some uncertainty as to the date of his birth, but it must have been about the year 1786. Early in the closing decade of the eighteenth century, presumably in 1793, the family, consisting of the father and mother and their four children, came to America. Young as he must have been, Patrick's education had already begun, for the fact has been handed down to us that he attended a school in Dublin conducted by a number of Jesuit Fathers who were exiled from France,—in all likelihood at the time of the suppression of their Order. It is believed that the family landed either in Baltimore or New York; at all events they gave each of these cities a short trial as a place of residence, but finally removed to Philadelphia and made it their home for the remainder of their lives.

Details in regard to the earlier years of the subject of our sketch are exceedingly meagre; indeed, the sole one of any interest that survives is that his education was here continued at the University of Pennsylvania. As his name does not appear in a list given in a pamphlet entitled "Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, and graduates of

the Departments of Arts and Science and of the Honorary Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, 1749-1880. Prepared by a Committee of the Society of the Alumni. Phila. Printed by the Society," the inference is that he did not take a degree in that institution of learning.

When war was declared with England, he, together with several other young men of the Quaker City, including the Watmough brothers and Alexander J. Williams, set out for Washington and procured commissions in the regular army, Williams as a captain, McDonogh and John G. Watmough as lieutenants in the Second Regiment, United States Artillery. We may judge of the promptness of their patriotic act when we recall the fact that it was on June 1, 1812, that President Madison sent a special message to Congress on the subject of our grievances against Great Britain, leaving it to this body's discretion to declare war, which it did; that it was on the 18th of the same month that he signed the declaration of war and issued a proclamation to the people; and then see that the earliest letter in this collection, written by Lieutenant McDonogh from the District Rendezvous at Trenton, is dated June 26, 1812. Lieutenants Watmough and McDonogh were both attached to a company commanded by Captain Alexander J. Williams.

Nearly all that is known of McDonogh's life during the following year and a half is what can be gleaned from this little and incomplete budget of his letters, preserved to us by that loved sister Anne to whom some of them are addressed. Whilst they give, above all, an insight into the character and disposition of the writer, these letters also serve to throw not a few sidelights upon concurrent incidents and public personages, thereby extending their interest to a wider circle. The latest knowledge we gather of the lieutenant from these treasured relics of the past, now yellowed by age and fast becoming illegible, is the joyous announce-

ment that he is *en route* for home to spend a happy Christmas with his family. An official order, also kept in the same collection, indicates that on January 19, 1814, McDonogh was relieved from duty as recruiting officer in Philadelphia. There is nothing after that date, either in letters, official papers, or the family annals, to tell us aught of his subsequent movements until the following August. The presumption is that shortly after this order was issued he rejoined his regiment on the frontier, probably travelling northward in command of the men whom he had recruited in Philadelphia for the artillery branch of the service. Why his later letters were not kept by his sister as these earlier ones had been can only be conjectured: it is thought that illness forced her to postpone her loving task of arranging them in book form with the others, and that the shock of his sad though not inglorious death caused her to altogether abandon it. Be that as it may, Lieutenant McDonogh then went forth from his adopted city for the last time, left the home that was ever so dear to him, bade adieu to the father and mother and sisters whom he loved with such tender affection, to be seen of them never again in this world. Thenceforth he belongs entirely to the country to which he had vowed his allegiance, and to that country's historic records we must refer for an account of the closing act by which he sacrificed his life in her cause.*

* I am happy to acknowledge my indebtedness for much interesting and valuable information in regard to the Fort Erie actions, which I shall use freely in this sketch, to Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo, N. Y., Historical Society and editor of the *Illustrated Buffalo Express*, and to Lieutenant Ernest Cruikshank, of the British army, Fort Erie, Ontario. Mr. Severance kindly sent me such portions of General Gaines's Report as relate to Lieutenant McDonogh, as also several extracts in reference to him from histories of the war of 1812. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruikshank, to whom Mr. Severance forwarded the letter of inquiry I had written him, because, as he said, "he is the best authority I know on the battles of Fort Erie," presented me with a copy of a volume entitled "Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814," edited by him and published for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Many of the papers contained in this compilation were never before printed, and as they are from both American and English sources, they enable us to see the events therein recorded from two points of view. I shall also draw for my materials upon a political pamphlet published at Philadelphia in 1835. It bears the title, "A Brief Sketch of the Services of John G. Watmough

The campaign of 1814 was an eventful and most sanguinary one. That our lieutenant took part in its opening battles, Chippewa and Bridgewater, is doubtful. The Brigade to which he was attached receives frequent mention for gallantry, but the presumption is that McDonogh was absent from it at that period on special, important, and honorable duty elsewhere. The English garrison at Fort Erie had capitulated on the 3d of July.

"General Wilkinson, having received orders from the Secretary of War, detached General Brown, with two thousand troops, to the Niagara frontier. . . . In June, General Brown marched his army from Sackett's Harbor to Buffalo, expecting to invade Canada. Here were added to his army Towson's Artillery . . . making, in the whole, about thirty-five hundred men. On the 2d and 3d of July they crossed the Niagara * and invested Fort Erie, where the garrison, amounting to one hundred men,† surrendered without resistance."

Major-General Jacob Brown, writing to the Secretary of War from Head-quarters, Chippewa Plains, July 7, 1814, states:

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during and subsequent to the Campaign of 1814–1815, when an Officer in the U. S. Army;" and upon some Manuscripts which belonged to the late John J. Maitland, a nephew of McDonogh, and are now the property of Mr. E. V. Maitland, of Germantown, Pa.

* "*General Order.* Adjutant-General's Office, Left Division, July 2, 1814. Major-General Brown has the satisfaction to announce to the troops of his division that he is authorized by the orders of his government to put them in motion against the enemy. The First and Second Brigades, with the corps of artillery, will cross the Straights before them this night, or as early to-morrow as possible. The necessary instructions have been given to the brigadiers, and by them to the commanding officers of regiments and corps.

"Upon entering Canada the laws of war will govern. Men found in arms, or otherwise engaged in the service of the enemy, will be treated as enemies; those behaving peaceably and following their private occupations will be treated as friends. Private property in all cases will be held sacred. Public property, wherever found, will be seized and disposed of by the commanding general. Our utmost protection will be given to all who actually join or evince a desire to join us.

"Plundering is prohibited. The major-general does not apprehend any difficulty on this with the regular army, or with honorable volunteers who press to the standard of their country to avenge her wrongs and to gain a name in arms. Profligate men who follow the army for plunder must not expect that they will escape the vengeance of the gallant spirits who are struggling to exalt the national character. Any plunderer shall be punished with death who shall be found violating this law.

"By order of the major-general.

"C. K. Gardner,
"*Adjutant-General.*"

(Copy in Documentary History.)

† The Inspector-General's report says that the aggregate was one hundred and thirty-seven.

"On the second inst. I issued my orders for crossing the Niagara River and made arrangements deemed necessary for securing the garrison of Fort Erie. On the 3d inst. that post surrendered, at five P.M.* . . . To secure my rear I have placed a garrison in this fort."

General Brown had left Lieutenant McDonogh and a small garrison in charge of Fort Erie while he (Brown) was operating down the Niagara. McDonogh did much to strengthen the fort, deepening the ditches and raising the bastions. "He also took out the line of pickets on the west flank and began the construction of a redoubt to protect the bastions." † *Niles' Register,* Baltimore, August 13, vol. 6, p. 415, tells us, ". . . Brigadier-General Gaines . . . is supposed to have taken the command at Fort Erie, which by great exertion has been made a strong place. . . ." And again: "Fort Erie is strong, and our men are full of spirits and confidence." ‡

On July 5 was fought the battle of Chippewa; on the 25th occurred the hotly contested battle of Bridgewater, wherein both contestants claimed the victory. After the latter the American army, reduced to about sixteen hundred men, retired to Fort Erie and there entrenched itself. General Ripley was in command, as Generals Brown and Scott were at Buffalo confined by wounds received on the

* From another account we learn that it was on Sunday afternoon this capitulation took place.

In a communication from Sir Gordon Drummond to Sir George Provost, dated Kingston, July 10, 1814, and marked "confidential," it is said, "They" (the Americans) "are now understood to be establishing batteries . . . in front of the position at Chippewa, from which Major-General Riall is apprehensive he will be under the necessity of retiring as his force is so considerably diminished from the casualties of the action and from the fall of Fort Erie. I regret extremely the loss of this place, which I had the strongest hopes would have made an excellent defence, or, at all events, held the enemy in check for several days. I felt the more confident in that expectation from Captain Marlowe's report of it on his return from that frontier."—*Documentary History.*

† Babcock's The Siege of Fort Erie, pp. 25, 26.

‡ "Americans under Major-General Jacob Brown, Generals Scott, Ripley, P. B. Porter, and J. Swift effected a landing on the Canadian frontier between Chippewa and Fort Erie. The passage of the troops over the river was under direction of Lieutenant-Commandant Kennedy, United States navy. Fort Erie surrendered. It was garrisoned and left under command of Lieutenant McDonogh, a Philadelphian, of the United States Artillery (killed August 15, 1814)."—Shallus, July 3, 1814, vol. ii. p. 8.

field of Bridgewater. Fort Erie now became the scene of action. The British forces, under Lieutenant-General Drummond, followed our troops and took up a strong position opposite to Black Rock, two miles east of the Fort. They numbered between four and five thousand, having been joined by the De Watteville Regiment after the battle of the 25th inst. The siege of Fort Erie and the assault that ensued are well-known incidents of the war. The object here is not to give an account of these important events, nor of the many acts of individual heroism which transpired during them, but only to speak of Lieutenant McDonogh's share in the dangers and glory of that fateful assault. These details shall be drawn for the most part from histories, from official reports and unofficial papers, and from family traditions.

It may not be amiss, however, to take a preliminary glance at the enemy's plans and anticipations on the occasion. That the British considered the recapture of Fort Erie a matter of vast importance is evident. Lieutenant-General Drummond writes to Sir George Prevost from Head-quarters, Niagara Falls, July 31, 1814:

"... I beg briefly to state that in this quarter the great object at present is the defeat and expulsion of the enemy's force which has taken post at Fort Erie, and to this object my sole attention must be given. I am sanguine that with the force I am collecting it will not be found difficult of attainment. ... If I am fortunate in my operations at Fort Erie this whole frontier may be considered as secure."

In a comunication from his camp before Fort Erie, under date of August 4, he writes: "Had this service been effected" (an attempt to capture or destroy some American stores at Buffalo and Black Rock), "as I sanguinely expected, the enemy's force shut up in Fort Erie would have been compelled by want of provisions either to come out and fight or to surrender it." Later on in the same communication, after mentioning the number and caliber of his

guns, etc., he states: "The reconnaissance of yesterday . . . convinced me that . . . I shall be able to compel the force shut up in Fort Erie to surrender, or attempt a sortie which can only terminate in his defeat." A British officer writes to a member of his family, after Bridgewater: "We have been following the enemy and hope to drive them out of the country." And another: "We are making every preparation to move towards Fort Erie, where the enemy is in considerable force waiting for one more trial. If once more defeated here, they will be quiet for the remainder of the summer."

Brigadier-General Gaines writes to the Secretary of War from his head-quarters at Fort Erie, U. C., August 7, 1814: "Sir, I arrived at this post on the 4th inst, and assumed the command. The army is in good spirits and more healthy than I could have expected."

A heavy cannonading was begun from the British batteries on the morning of the 13th of August, and continued with little or no intermission until one o'clock on the morning of the 15th. "During this cannonade Lieutenant Watmough, with his gallant comrades, the lamented Williams and McDonogh, were stationed on the advance battery, *nearest the foe.*" *

"During the 13th and 14th the enemy had kept up a brisk cannonade, which was sharply returned from our batteries without any considerable loss on our part. At six P.M. one of their shells lodged in a small magazine in Fort Erie, which was fortunately almost empty; it blew up with an explosion more awful in its appearance than injurious in its effects, as it did not disable a man or damage a gun. It occasioned but a momentary cessation of the thunders of the artillery on both sides; it was followed by a loud and joyous shout of the British army, which was instantly returned on our part, and Captain Williams, amidst the smoke of the explosion, renewed the contest by an animated roar of his heavy cannon." †

* Political pamphlet, before mentioned.
† General Gaines's Report.

The assault took place at two o'clock on the morning of the 15th of August.

"You are to advance to the attack precisely at two o'clock." (Secret Orders, issued by Lieutenant-General Drummond.) . . . "I am to apprise you that two columns will advance from this side, . . . one to attack the fort, composed of flank companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond and a party of seamen and marines. . . . The advantages which will arise from taking out the flints" (this he had ordered to be done) "are obvious. Combined with darkness and silence it will effectually conceal the situation and number of our troops, and those of the enemy being exposed by his fire and his white trousers, which are very conspicuous marks to our view, it will enable them to use the bayonet with effect which that valuable weapon has been ever found to possess in the hands of British soldiers. A detachment of Royal Artillery will accompany the column for the purpose of either spiking or turning the enemy's guns against himself, according as may be found expedient. . . . As proposals of surrender may probably be made to you, you are to attend to none which are not unconditional, not suffering yourself for a moment to be diverted from the prosecution of your attack. Clemency to prisoners it is unnecessary to recommend to you. . . . By making a considerable number of prisoners you will find, in the event of the contest being protracted until daylight, that the enemy will be so reduced in numbers as not to be able to make any stand against the force under your command (particularly if you have taken possession of Snake Hill) and that which will be detached to co-operate with you from this side. His force is at present understood to be about fifteen hundred fit for duty. . . . The Lieutenant-General *most strongly recommends a free use of the bayonet.* The enemy's force does not exceed fifteen hundred fit for duty, and those are represented as much dispirited. . . .

"The night of the 15th of August was fixed by the British for their final attack. It was dark and rainy and every way calculated to promote the success of the assailants.* . . . The attack was made at various points by three heavy columns of choice troops, led by most distinguished officers and sustained by a heavy reserve and a body of seven or eight hundred Indians. . . . The American officer who commanded the picket guards

* This is confirmed by an extract from a letter written by a surgeon in the British army, in which he speaks of Colonel Scott, killed in this action: "The night of the attack I slept on the ground with him under a piece of canvas suspended from a branch of a tree, but not sufficient to protect us from the inclemency of a dreadful rainy night. I asked him his opinion of the attack; he spoke unfavorably of it, yet though drenched with rain he was in high spirits, and his last words to me before he led off the corps were, 'We shall breakfast together in the fort in the morning.' Alas! when I saw him again he was mortally wounded."

in our front was young and entirely inexperienced,—he had joined the army but a few days before, and knew nothing of war. His orders were to hold on firmly until the attack began and then retreat slowly within our lines. He entirely mistook their object, and upon the report of the first gun from the American left he commenced his own retreat without waiting to be attacked and in spite of the entreaties of his brave veterans. The error sprang from ignorance, not from want of patriotism or courage; it had, however, nearly proved fatal to the American army. The officers of artillery stationed in the advance battery . . . were at their posts, and keenly on the alert, . . . when suddenly, without the previous notice of a single shot, the trampling of feet and the sound of voices were heard under the muzzle of their guns. The brave McDonogh was the first to leap upon the parapet and demand, in a voice of thunder, 'Who goes there?' The watch-word was instantly returned, and the officer of the picket attempted to excuse his conduct. McDonogh replied, 'Return, sir, instantly, and die upon your post,—one moment's delay and I'll blow you and your command into ten thousand atoms.' The young man obeyed, but scarcely had he advanced two hundred yards before he encountered the enemy. . . . Our gallant band received them with a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, and the British were repulsed at every point. The unremitting and destructive fire of our brave artillerists produced a scene of the most appalling grandeur. Every avenue of sense conveyed some idea of horror. The thick gloom of the night, only broken here and there by the glare of the lightning and the bright flash of the guns; the alternate roar of the cannonade and the death-like stillness of those solemn intervals of silence which interrupt the tumult of war; the lurid smoke which hung like a mournful curtain over the field of carnage; the shrieks of the wounded and dying and the yells of the hostile Indians,—all combined to produce a spectacle of sublime reality. They" (the British) "returned five times to the attack, determined to conquer or perish in the attempt. The sixth assault was attended with better success. Colonel Drummond, who attacked Watmough's battery" (Williams's?) "with a column of one thousand men, effected a footing on the bastion and charged the defenders while in the very act of reloading their guns. The colonel himself led the forlorn hope. . . . A personal conflict of great violence ensued and continued for some time with alternate success. In a desperate resolve to repel the foe, the brave, the intrepid Williams and McDonogh fell. . . . The incident related above sufficiently indicates the character of McDonogh." *

From the Report of Brigadier-General Gaines to the Secretary of War, Fort Erie, August 23, 1814, we take the following:

* Extracts from the Watmough electioneering pamphlet.

"Sir, I have the honor to communicate . . . the particulars of the battle fought at this place on the 15th inst, . . . which terminated in a signal victory in favor of the United American arms. . . . Fort Erie" (was defended) "by Captain Williams, with Major Trimble's command of the Nineteenth Infantry. . . . The night was dark and the early part of it raining, but the faithful sentinel slept not. One-third of the troops were up at their posts. At half-past two o'clock the right column of the enemy approached, and though enveloped in darkness . . . was distinctly heard on our left and promptly marked by our musketry. . . . My attention was now called to the right, where our batteries and lines were soon lighted by a most brilliant fire of cannon and musketry. It announced the approach of the centre and left columns of the enemy, under Colonels Drummond and Scott. . . . That of the centre, led by Colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check. It approached at once every assailable point of the fort, and with scaling ladders ascended the parapet, but was repulsed with dreadful carnage. The assault was twice repeated and as often checked, but the enemy having moved round in the ditch, covered by darkness added to the heavy cloud of smoke which had rolled from our cannon and musquetry enveloping surrounding objects, repeated the charge, reascended the ladders, and with their pikes, bayonets, and spears fell upon our gallant artillerists. The gallant spirits of our favorite Captain Williams and Lieutenants McDonogh and Watmough, with their brave men, were overcome; the two former and several of their men received deadly wounds. Our bastion was lost. Lieutenant McDonogh, being severely wounded, demanded quarter; it was refused by Colonel Drummond. The lieutenant then seized a handspike and nobly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the monster who had refused him quarter, who often reiterated the order, 'Give the damned Yankees no quarter.' This officer, whose bravery if it had been seasoned with virtue would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier,—this hardened murderer,—soon met his fate. He was shot through the breast by —— of the —— regiment while repeating the order to give no quarter. . . . Major Hindman's efforts, aided by Major Trimble, having failed to drive the enemy from the bastion with the remaining artillery and infantry in the fort, Captain Birdsall, of the Fourth Rifle Regiment, gallantly rushed in through the gate-way to their assistance, and with some infantry charged the enemy, but was repulsed and the captain severely wounded. A detachment from the Eleventh, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second Infantry, under Captain Foster, of the Eleventh, were introduced over the interior bastion for the purpose of charging the enemy; Major Hall, Assistant Inspector-General, very handsomely tendered his services to lead the charge. The charge was gallantly made by Captain Foster and Major Hall, but owing to the narrowness of the passage

up the bastion, admitting only two or three men abreast, it failed. It was often repeated and as often checked. The enemy's force in the bastion was, however, much cut to pieces and diminished by our artillery and small-arms.

"At this moment every operation was arrested by the explosion of some cartridges deposited in the end of the stone building adjoining the contested bastion; the explosion was tremendous; it was decisive; the bastion was restored."

Before proceeding to quote further from General Gaines's Report, we will here state that according to the unquestioned traditions of Lieutenant McDonogh's family, this explosion, so momentous in its consequences, was attributable to an act of his. Wounded, not killed, by the shot from Colonel Drummond's pistol, he saw his brave comrades overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the British, the nobly defended bastion lost, the fort in danger of capture. Forgetful of himself and of the pain of his wounds, he thought only of his country and of the honor of her gallant army: he was heard to order back his men, to exclaim, "May God have mercy on my soul," and then, with a supreme effort he mustered his fast-ebbing strength and threw a lighted fuse or match into the ammunition chest which was under the platform of the demi-bastion. So far the tradition; later, we shall speak of what authority exists apart from the family tradition to support and confirm it.

Our quotation from General Gaines's official report shall now be resumed.

"Major Hindman, and the whole of the artillery under the command of that excellent officer, displayed a degree of gallantry and good conduct not to be surpassed. The particular situation of Captain Towson and the much lamented Captain Williams and Lieutenant McDonogh and that of Lieutenant Watmough as already described, with their respective commands, rendered them most conspicuous." *

* I cannot refrain from inserting this extract from the closing paragraph of the General's letter: "Lieutenant Fontaine of the artillery, who was taken prisoner, writes from the British camp that he fortunately fell into the hands of the Indians, who after taking his money treated him kindly. It would seem then that these savages had not joined in the resolution to give no quarter."

In a supplementary report, after speaking of the gallantry of certain of the regiments engaged in this same action, he tells of the number of prisoners taken, and adds:

"These facts prove that the affair was not merely a *defence* of our position, or a mere *repulse* of the enemy, as I find it called by some. As regards myself, I am satisfied with the result, and am not disposed to make any difficulty about the name by which the affair may be called, but it is due to the brave men I have the honor to command that I should say that the affair was to the enemy a sore *beating* and a *defeat,* and it was to us a *handsome victory.*"

In a letter written by him from Nashville, Tenn., in 1830, and printed in the Watmough pamphlet, among other things General Gaines says, speaking of the battle of Fort Erie:

"This force, led by Colonel Drummond, one of the bravest of men, mounted the half-bastion, in the defence of which the heroic Williams, McDonogh, and Watmough, with most of their brave Pennsylvania soldiers, fell. The two former, with several of the latter, were killed or mortally wounded. . . . With the half-bastion the enemy had obtained three pieces of cannon, but which he could not bring to bear upon any vital part of my position. . . . It was near four o'clock, and daylight, which of all things was then most desirable, was just beginning to dawn upon the contending forces. . . . About this time the platform of the half-bastion was blown up, and the enemy's columns that had been drawn up before it were driven back and hastily retreated. . . . At the same moment, the bastion, of which the enemy had gained temporary possession, blew up, and with it went all their hopes of victory." *

"Colonel Drummond had partially succeeded, and was in the act of denying mercy to the conquered, who asked for quarter, when a barrel of powder beneath him became ignited, and he and they were blown together into the air." †

From the English opinions of the explosion, we collect these specimens: Lieutenant-General Drummond writes to Sir George Prevost from Camp before Fort Erie, August 15, 1814:

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* Watmough brochure.

† Abridged History of the United States, by Emma Willard, 1850.

"These columns advanced to the attack" (on the fort), . . . "and succeeded after a desperate resistance in making a lodgement in the fort through the embrasures of the demi-bastion, the guns of which they had actually turned against the enemy, who still maintained the stone building, when most unfortunately some ammunition which had been placed under the platform caught fire from the firing of the guns to the rear, and a most tremendous explosion followed, by which almost all the troops which had entered the place were dreadfully mangled. Panic was instantly communicated to the troops (who could not be persuaded that the explosion was accidental), and the enemy at the same time pressing forward and commencing a heavy fire of musquetry, the fort was abandoned and our troops retreated towards the battery. . . . Our loss has been very severe in killed and wounded, and I am sorry to add that almost all those returned 'missing' may be considered as wounded or killed by the explosion, and left in the hands of the enemy. The failure of these most important attacks has been occasioned by circumstances which may be considered as almost justifying the momentary panic which they produced, and which introduced a degree of confusion into the columns which in the darkness of the night the utmost exertions of the officers were ineffectual in removing. . . .

"With regard to the centre and left columns, under Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, the persevering gallantry of both officers and men until the unfortunate explosion could not be surpassed. Colonel Scott of the One Hundred and Third and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond of the One Hundred and Fourth Regiments, who commanded the centre and left attacks, were unfortunately killed, and your Excellency will perceive that almost every officer of those columns was either killed or wounded, by the enemy's fire or by the explosion."

The official report of the killed, wounded, and missing repeats: "Of the number returned missing the greater part are supposed to have been killed by the explosion of a magazine." In a private despatch to Sir George Prevost, August 16, Lieutenant-General Drummond again says,—

"An unfortunate explosion, supposed by accident, of some expense ammunition in the demi-bastion of the works, by the destruction of many valuable officers and men, threw the remainder into such confusion and dismay that they likewise made a precipitate retreat, and the enemy remained in possession of his works."

In a General Order issued from Head-quarters, Montreal, August 25, 1814, it is said,—

"Lieutenant-General Drummond reports that the spirit with which it" (the attack) "was undertaken enabled our troops to surmount every obstacle, Fort Erie and the entrenchments were entered, the guns turned on the barrack blockhouse (the enemy's last refuge), when unfortunately a most violent explosion occurred in the battery, in its effect destroying and disabling many a valuable officer and soldier, and caused so considerable a consternation as to induce the remaining troops to abandon the works and all those advantages which they had gained by their determined conduct, and precipitately to retire on our first approaches."

From camp before Fort Erie, Lieutenant MacMahon, of the British army, writes, on August 22, this strange medley of fact and fiction:

"The result of an assault upon the fort we have great cause to lament, for our loss in valuable officers and the best of our men, which, including all ranks, was nine hundred and twenty, was one which at the present moment we can but badly bear; and this is the more to be regretted, as the loss which the enemy sustained on the occasion did not exceed fifty men. A considerable portion of the loss on our part was occasioned by the explosion of a quantity of ammunition which the enemy had placed under the platform of the bastion at which our troops had entered and made a lodgement, and but for which the place would have been ours. It was not, however, intentionally placed there for the purpose, but, seeing the opportunity and availing himself of it, a corporal of American artillery, having got on a red coat and the cap of a British deserter, and while it was scarce daylight, got in amongst our men, who were principally in and near this bastion, and appeared to make himself very busy in working the gun, which by this time had been turned against the enemy, and in the bustle he got under the platform and effected his purpose by a slow match. He had but just time himself to slink off and get behind a stone building in the fort when this unfortunate explosion took place, which has left the One Hundred and Third Regiment, who were principally at that point, but a mere skeleton. Poor Colonel Drummond . . . and many others, some of whom from their mutilated state could not be identified, have fallen in this affair. Colonel Drummond was mortally wounded before the explosion, as was Colonel Scott, but the other officers which I have mentioned were all blown up."

Another private letter contains these sentences bearing on the subject in hand:

"After we were blown up, some three or four hundred men, by the springing of the mine or magazine in Fort Erie, on recovering my senses from being blown off the parapet some twenty feet into the ditch, which was filled with burnt and maimed men, the Yankees relined their works and fired heavily into the ditch. My colonel, Drummond of Keltie, had commanded the right attack. . . . Finding that the ditch was not to be held under such disarray and such a fire, several of us jumped over the scarp and ran over the plain to our lines. . . . Poor Drummond's body remained in the American lines blown up."

Sir George Prevost writes to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on August 27, 1814:

"It is with deep concern I have now to acquaint your Lordship that notwithstanding there was the fairest prospect of success at the commencement of the attack, our troops were afterwards obliged to retire without accomplishing their object and with very considerable loss. To Lieutenant-General Drummond's official report on this subject . . . I beg leave to refer your Lordship for the causes of our failure. It is, however, highly satisfactory to know that until the unfortunate explosion took place, and until His Majesty's troops by their near approach to the *abatis* in front of the intrenchments met such difficulties in penetrating as were found to be insurmountable without the aid of light, they behaved with their usual gallantry and discipline, and had gained by their determined efforts advantages which accident alone appears to have compelled them to forego."

These various extracts give indisputable proof that both the American and British points of view converge in regard to the extent and importance of the effects resulting from the explosion which occurred during the storming of Fort Erie. It now only remains to mention, in conclusion, the grounds which exist for attributing this explosion to a prompt and opportune act of heroism on the part of Lieutenant McDonogh. The family tradition has never varied. It has been handed down to us from one generation to another up to the present time, both orally and in writing. This version of the affair, it is said, was given to McDonogh's parents by his soldiers and fellow-officers who had been with him during the assault, when they returned to Philadelphia. His junior officer, Lieutenant Watmough, has always been mentioned as one of the principal among these

authorities. True, it is said in the Watmough political pamphlet that McDonogh was instantly killed, but this is evidently a misstatement; we find the assertion nowhere else, but quite a contrary one: Watmough's friends, authors of the pamphlet, were so intent upon aggrandizing therein the services of their candidate for Congress that they were not over-precise as to their comments on others. The late Peter J. Maitland, a nephew of McDonogh,* writing from Pittsburg in 1837 to the Hon. Richard Biddle, at Washington, D. C., relates the family version of McDonogh's actions at Fort Erie, and adds that these facts can be substantiated by reference to Shallus's History of the Late War, Dennie's Portfolio of 1814-15, "and by the verbal testimony of Col. Watmough of Philadelphia, late representative in Congress." This last-named authority he would scarcely have presumed to cite unless he had been quite certain of the correctness of his information in regard to the incident. Moreover, the writer expected his letter to be made use of in Washington in a semi-official manner; naturally, therefore, he would be obliged to be careful that his assertions were incontestable. Hence it is a fair deduction that the statement that Lieutenant McDonogh was instantly killed never emanated from Colonel Watmough; that, on the contrary, he was a valuable witness to the fact of McDonogh's efficient bravery.

The reference to Dennie's Portfolio has not as yet been followed up, but that to Shallus has been successfully traced.† Under "August 15, 1814," we find:

* The eldest son of his sister Mary, Mrs. John Maitland, and the Peter spoken of in several of the letters. Perhaps these two items, copied from the family Bible, will not be considered too irrelevant to our subject to be given space here: "Married on the 16th February, Eighteen hundred & six, by the Revd. Doctor Carr, John Maitland, aged 29 years and 6 months, to Mary McDonogh, aged 15 years & 29 days. Philadelphia." "Peter Maitland, son of John & Mary Maitland, [born] February the 6th 1808 at 7 A.M. Baptized 6 March by the Revd. Mr. Eagan. Sponsors Mr. John Mathews & Mrs. Catharine Mallon. Philadelphia."

† Chronological Tables for Every Day in the Year, Compiled from the Most Authentic Documents. By Francis Shallus, Philadelphia. Sold at A. P. Shallus's Circulating Library, No. 90, South Third Street. Merritt, Printed, 1817.

"The attack commenced at two in the morning and it appears proved, incontestably, that Drummond ordered that 'no quarters be given the d—— Yankees.' General Gaines, in his official despatches, states, positively, that himself and several officers heard the savage expression repeated several times. Of the Americans our favorite (says General G.) Captain Williams was killed. Lieutenant McDonogh, being wounded twice, demanded quarter, which was refused by Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, who shot McDonogh with a pistol, upon which an American soldier levelled his piece and shot Drummond in the breast. McDonogh's bastion was blown up, but whether by accident or otherwise cannot be ascertained. It is generally believed that McDonogh, finding himself mortally wounded, and hearing the orders given by the bloodthirsty Drummond to show no quarter to the Americans, threw a lighted match into the ammunition chest."

A faded newspaper clipping, still in the possession of the family,—pasted in among the old letters,—gives an early account of the incident we have been discussing. It is rather lurid and the American eagle is made to screech shrilly, yet the item is not without value as a witness because of the locality where it was printed and because it is an almost contemporaneous account. "From the *Saratoga Journal* of August 24," it is headed:

"The repulse of the British at Erie is one of the most glorious instances of heroism, self-devotion, and presence of mind of which America can boast, or perhaps ever recorded in the annals of warfare. When these same troops under Wellington took Badajoz, they made but three assaults before they took the citadel and the garrison surrendered. But here *seven times* they rushed on our steel and cannons' mouths, and were by Yankees *seven times* repulsed. They at length, as at Badajoz, got possession of the *main battery*. Does that dishearten —were our colors like those then struck? No, no. *At this awful moment, when all seems lost, it had pleased the Almighty* that a McDonogh should be found, and in that moment his heart to his country he gives—his hand seizes a torch—Erie and his brethren are safe—his soul to heaven flies, and the brawny and polluted limbs of hundreds of Sebastian ruffians are scattered in mid-air. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord!!!"

Written in a vein somewhat similar to the preceding, though very different to it in character and scope, is an

epic poem descriptive of the war of 1812.* The fourth volume treats of the "Defence of Fort Erie." From it we take the following extracts. Notwithstanding the "offensive partisan" style of composition, the author's rash way of dealing in pyrotechnical flights of fancy, and his evident delight in linguistic explosives, the lines testify that McDonogh's act had more than local renown. General Brown, placing his officers in position for the defence of Fort Erie, says:

"Hindman, whose name is terror to a host,
Make you the centre of the fort your post.
Williams and Wadsworth [Watmough?], and McDonogh fair,
Will ply the engines and divide your care."

And later on, describing the assault, the author writes:

"Lo, now, MacDonogh, wounded in his side,
With yielding voice to marble Drummond cried:
'My strength is failing—wasting is my life—
I ask protection to retire from strife.'
'Speak not of life! Of life I've none to give!
None of the name of Liberty shall live!'
The savage answer flam'd the hero's blood;
Grasping a weapon in despairing mood,
And, like a lion when incens'd with ire,
He smote whole ranks, and caus'd them to retire.
While thus his vengeance on the foe he dealt,
Drummond sprang forward, snatching from his belt
His ready arms,—quick bent the lock-spring,—fir'd.
MacDonogh fell, but not his life expir'd;
Beneath the bastion, in his gore he lies,
Death hovering near to seal his slumbering eyes.
Fast from his bosom ebbs away his life,
Whilst o'er his head tumultuous roars the strife.

"By this had Tucker come: 'Conquest!' he cries,
And urges on the Britons to the prize.
They stand determined on the bastion's brow,
Though numbers fall, like autumn leaves, below.

* "The Fredoniad; or, Independence Preserved. An Epick Poem on the Late War of 1812." By Richard Emmons, M.D. In Four volumes. Boston: Printed for the Author, by Munroe and Francis, No. 128, Washington Street. 1827.

Gaines, Ripley, Porter, Hindman, Biddle, Wood,
Strike at the heart, and empty it of blood.
But where one dies, two enter in his room,
Fix'd on their death, or Freedom to entomb.

"While thus they strove, MacDonogh, where he lay
Beneath the bastion, shelter'd from the fray,
Beheld a chest of quick combustion nigh,
And match, slow smouldering, to consume it, by:
'I'll put it forth! Oh, how it mounts my soul!
The foe unmerciful in flames shall roll!
My fall shall not be vain. I'll break the strife,
And, for my country, render up my life.
O Thou, who weighs the heavens,—who breath'd the mind,—
Receive my spirit on the fiery wind!'
His prayer was brief, but full. He flings the fire—
A thousand Britons at the blast expire!

"'Patriots like him, who for their country die,
Are borne to Heaven on breath of Deity!'"

Several members of the family have in their possession copies of an obituary notice of Lieutenant McDonogh's venerable mother, who died in 1850, having survived her husband and all her children. It was written "For the *Public Ledger,*" and the belief has always been that its author, "D," was the late Doctor William Darrach, a well-known and highly respected resident of Philadelphia. He was Mrs. McDonogh's physician, and the physician and friend of various members of the family for many, many years. The notice is too lengthy to repeat here in full; suffice it to say that the writer gives an excellent account of the assault and defence at Fort Erie, and of Lieutenant McDonogh's act such as it has been recorded in these pages, perhaps with even more wealth of minute detail. One would judge from the author's knowledge of various incidents of the attack that he must have seen General Gaines's official report or had gathered information from some other reliable source. These sentences will show the belief he entertained fifty years ago. He had probably heard the

version from some of McDonogh's contemporaries, then still alive.

"Among the recent deaths in our city, we notice, with no ordinary feeling, that of Mrs. Margaret McDonogh. . . . A tribute of respect to her memory is peculiarly due. Independently of her personal claims to it, as one who in every way and at all times was a lady,—a beautiful specimen of Christian character, gentle, kind, and beneficent,—she merits it as the mother of Lieutenant Patrick McDonogh, who sacrificed himself so nobly at the storming of Fort Erie, and as the grandmother of Captain John P. O'Brien, who acted so bravely and efficiently at Buena Vista.* . . . To this explosion the enemy attributes his failure. How happened it? Some refer it to accident; *but other officers relate*" (italics ours) "that Lieutenant McDonogh, not having been removed after his several wounds from the foot of the bastion, and being exasperated at the determination which he saw in the conduct of the enemy's troops to show no mercy to the vanquished soldier, *resolved upon devoting himself* to stop the progress of their inhuman career, and to this end threw a lighted match into the chest of ammunition, which, by its immediate explosion, produced those tremendous effects which restored the bastion to the Americans, and terminated the conflict. No monument, as yet, designates the burial spot of this self-sacrificing soldier."

Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest Cruikshank, of the British army, already referred to as a competent authority in all that relates to the battles of Fort Erie, when asked recently his opinion as to the credibility of the McDonogh incident, replied:

"I have never seen the explosion attributed to Lieutenant McDonogh, but I should not say that it is incredible or impossible. You will no doubt have noted the various versions of that incident in the contemporary documents, but there is nothing very conclusive in them. In the darkness and confusion of the struggle the survivors seem scarcely to have comprehended what had occurred, much less the cause."

This when he was still entirely ignorant of what testimony the family could adduce in support of their tradition.

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* A biographical sketch of Major O'Brien, here alluded to, is in course of preparation.

"No monument . . . designates the burial spot of this self-sacrificing soldier," says his mother's panegyrist. Not only is this remark true to-day as it was then, not only is the lieutenant's burial-place unmarked, but that burial-place itself is unknown. A member of the family thinks that formerly Captain Wiliams and Lieutenant McDonogh were buried somewhere near the Fort, and that their graves were surrounded by a picket fence, but this lacks confirmation. Mr. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, who was so kind as to interest himself in the matter, writes, September 10, 1900:

". . . As to the place of his burial I can as yet give no information. There is no cemetery in Buffalo dating back to 1814, and I much doubt if any trace of soldiers of the War of 1812 can be found in the records of existing burial grounds. I will make inquiry and report."

Since then, quite recently in fact, a letter was discovered which throws a faint light on the subject. It was written by one of the family in 1887 or 1889. He says,—

"I tried to find McDonogh's grave while I was at Buffalo. Those killed at Fort Erie were buried at Black Rock, and the cemetery there was abandoned some years ago, the remains of the Fort Erie victims being removed to the present cemetery and buried in a soldiers' lot, along with a number of those who were killed in or died during the rebellion. The graves of the latter are marked, but there are seven unmarked belonging to those removed from Black Rock, and among them is probably McDonogh, though there is no record of his name and no means of identification so far as I got. If I go to Buffalo next year I may trace out something more."

Among the family reminiscences is one which relates that there was much enthusiasm about Lieutenant McDonogh in Philadelphia at the time of his death, and it was proposed to have some fitting memorial to perpetuate the memory of his brave deed, but that this design was abandoned when it was found the lieutenant had been born in Ireland. It is likewise possible, it seems to us, that the gal-

lant fellow's remains may have been unrecognizable as a result of the explosion and that he was buried simply as one of the many who fell during that memorable battle at Erie.

A strange thing is told in the family which may serve to account for the fact that so little is now known of this hero's last resting-place. It appears that his mother conceived one of those peculiar ideas which, though of course quite unreasonable, was yet so strong as to greatly distress and grieve her. She fancied that her beloved son was probably not justified in taking his own life, even though in so noble a cause,—in a word, that his act might have been in a measure suicidal. Whilst this phase of the incident has been used by one of her grandsons as an argument for the authenticity of McDonogh's last act, because his mother would have been only too glad to get any different version of his death at Erie from the survivors could she have done so, it also accounts for her life-long grief and the silence in regard to her son which was rarely broken in after years even to her family and most intimate friends. Monument, public demonstration, plaudits of the multitude,—of what value these to the broken-hearted mother? Early one August morning that devoted mother went forth from her home, in all probability to attend Mass at Old St. Joseph's Church. In the city's streets she found little knots of people gathered, saw and heard on every side the excitement and exultation of her fellow-citizens over the news, just received, of a victory gained by the Americans over the British at Fort Erie. Was it a victory without cost—a bloodless triumph? Alas! no. Those ringing cheers of a nation's rejoicing were for that startled mother but the sad wailing of a death-knell, for then and there she learned that the life-blood of her son, her only son, had helped pay the price of that victory.

Throughout these pages the writer has kept almost ex-

clusively to the recital of the dry bones of facts; to the reader is left the task to build up around them, if he so wish, the man of flesh and blood, to fill in, with the shading furnished by Lieutenant McDonogh's letters, the broad outlines traced in the history of his public career. It is to be regretted that no portrait of him exists. His father, who is well remembered and whom he is believed to have strongly resembled, was tall and of fine physique; his nephew, the late Henry Maitland, it was always said in the family, bore a striking likeness to his military uncle, and he, too, was a handsome, finely proportioned, distinguished-looking man. This knowledge is all we have to help us in making our picture of the lieutenant's outward appearance. His disposition, his character, his soul,—these he has unconsciously portrayed for us with his own hand; gentle yet manly, tender yet strong, a lover of domestic pleasures but with a courageous devotion to duty; full of the zest of life, yet with an heroic contempt of death; pure and simple and high-spirited,—these the qualities that made him a favorite with all who knew him. The beauty of his life wins our regard; the bravery of his death commands the homage of our respect.

The Watmough pamphlet contains this paragraph:

"Williams, McDonogh, and Watmough were all natives of Philadelphia, and certainly our city has reason to be proud of her sons. The mother of McDonogh, a venerable and most respectable lady, still lives among us to deplore his fate. Let her be comforted,—he died like a patriot and a soldier, upon the field of honor."

Rather, we suspect, did this bereaved mother seek her comfort in other things and in other ways; in the remembrance of her son's beautiful and unwavering devotion to her, of the fact that he was to the end her "dutiful" as well as her "affectionate" son; that in youth and manhood, as in earlier years, he never left the house without seeking her to kiss her loved lips; sought her solace in teaching

her numerous grandchildren in their earliest lispings to pray for the soul of their uncle; more and greater solace in the knowledge that was hers that during his army life he never lost an opportunity to attend to his religious duties; that he died as he had lived in the profession and the practice of the faith of his forefathers.

I. M. O'R.

COPY OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY PATRICK McDONOGH, OF PHILADELPHIA, LIEUTENANT IN THE SECOND REGIMENT, UNITED STATES ARTILLERY, DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

FIRST LETTER.

DISTRICT RENDEZVOUS, TRENTON, June 26th, 1812.

DEAR FATHER & MOTHER

I arrived here safe on Wednesday and immediately took charge of the men entrusted to my care which I am very much pleased with. I am likewise pleased with the situation

Dennis * was waiting for me on the wharf when I arrived. I saw him this morning but was engaged in taking the men down to the river so that I could but salute him. I dont think he is as well as when he left Philadelphia, and he says himself that he expects to die about October next.

The sergeant could not find Richards to get my mattress so that I have been sleeping these two nights past in a tent on straw, as the Garrison Rules are that no officer or private shall sleep out. I wish you could have them (my mattresses) put on board of the Trenton Packet for me. She lies at Arch Street Wharf. Direct to Lieut. McDonogh, Trenton Depot. I forgot my clarionet which I would wish to have also.

Capt. Connelly passed through here the day after I ar-

* Supposed to be a brother of John O'Brien, the lieutenant's brother-in-law, husband to his sister Anne. He died of consumption not very long afterwards. He had been in the English army before he came to America.

rived, I am told for Philada. I saw Mr. Andrews on his way to Phila. yesterday. Deveraux is here acting as Quartermaster's Sergeant. He made himself known to me the day after I arrived here.

I have seen Adjutant General's orders issued to the officers of the army requesting them to send in their claims if they have any on account of former services either in the army or volunteers so that they may be enabled to rank the officers on correct principles. I shall write to-morrow to the Adjutant. Give my love to Anne & Mary * and all the family and let me know how the children are.

I shall know by the middle of next week whether I will be allowed to remain here or not. If I do you may expect to see me the week after.

I am with affection & esteem
Your dutiful Son
Patk. McDonogh.

Second Letter.

New York, Septm. 7th, 1812.

Dear Father & Mother

I would have written to you from Brunswick but my orders to proceed to this place were so short that I had not time. I arrived here yesterday afternoon in the stage and immediately waited on Mrs. Wale.† The family are all well & appeared to be glad to see me. Mr. Wale invited me to take tea and sleep there but I was so engaged in preparing vessels and provisions for the troops the whole afternoon that I could not. Ulick (Wale) is going on to the South shortly about business. I believe he expects to make something by the trip. I expect we shall sail for Albany

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* Mary, the youngest of the family, was married to John Maitland; her children are those referred to from time to time in her brother's letters.

† John Maitland's sister was the wife of Ulick Wale; his father and mother are the Mr. and Mrs. Wale here mentioned.

tomorrow morning where I shall write on my arrival. Give my love to my sisters & all.

Dear Father & Mother I am your
Affectionate Son Patk. McDonogh.

P.S.—Remember me to Allen tell him I have seen Mr. & Mrs. Robineau—they are all well and have a fine family of children,—and that I will write to him from Albany.

P. McD.

Mr. Rubineau sends his respects to you. I will give you an account of my journey in my next.

Signed
P. McDonogh.

Third Letter.

Camp near Green Bush, Septm. 13th, 1812.

Dear Parents

I arrived here on Friday last, after a very pleasant sail of four days up the Hudson, which made up in some measure for the disagreeableness of the first part of our journey; after leaving Philad. on the 3d inst. we did not arrive in Trenton until late in the afternoon of the 4th, and had then to encamp on the wet ground, it pouring rain, which continued until the morning of the 6th. On the 5th the men made a march of 25½ miles (to Brunswick) notwithstanding the rain and the badness of the roads; from thence they were transported in boats to New York; and then to Greenbush opposite to Albany, & within 1½ miles of our present encampment.

We are now under marching orders; will strike our tents and take up our line of march for Plattsburg or Niagara on the 15th inst. I was not as much gratified on my arrival as I expected to have been with the sight of 3000 men encamped, as they are not encamped in line, but

in Regiments. The ground they occupy is about three miles in circumference and is very uneven. Each Col. has the exclusive command of his own Regt. General Dearborn does not quarter in camp with us. He is a fine old gentleman and makes a very soldierly appearance. We were all introduced to him on our arrival. He was much pleased with our appearance and could not be persuaded our men were recruits. You have no idea of the number of Troops that daily enter and leave our camp. There have been about 3000 marched from this already; on the day we arrived there were one company of light artillery from New England, & two of heavy from Governor's Island that landed with us; this morning a very handsome company of artillery left here for Niagara; tomorrow the 5th Regt of Infty goes; the day after it will be our turn with another company of the same Regt. & on the 20th and 25th there will be a Regtn. or two more.

Plattsburg is about 107 or 8 miles from here; Colo. Scot does not yet know our place of destination, if I have time after I hear, I will write, & let you know before we march. I am very much pleased with the Col. (he does everything to make us happy and comfortable) and with the officers generally. I write this on my trunk; we have so little time & our stay is so short that we have had no camp furniture made. Give my love to Anne, Mary & all the family, and tell Mr. Armstrong that I will write to him as soon as I can steal that much time. Adieu dear Father & Mother until my next.

I am affectionately yours

P. McDonogh.

P.S.—Tell the Major * there are large barracks building here. They will be finished by the time the drafted militia

* A little pleasantry at the expense of John Maitland, his brother-in-law, who held a major's commission in the Ninety-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, and took the field with it for the defence of Philadelphia during the war. He was absent from home

are sent on; but he is not to expect to be quartered in a mansion house or a masonic hall; they are frame buildings, and well sheltered from the Norwesters by a range of hills in their rear. General Smyth, the Inspector General, quarters in a part of them that is finished. He goes with the 5th. Regiment of Infantry to-morrow. I forgot to mention that there is a man to be shot to-morrow afternoon for deserting his post while on guard. He is one of the finest looking soldiers in camp and had but ten months to stay. He belongs to the Light Artillery.

Septm. 15th, 1812, 10 o'clock at night.

I could not get over to Albany to put this letter in the post-office, we were so busy preparing for the march; nor could we get off to-day as was contemplated, on acount of the difficulty we found in procuring our ordinance and ammunition; but we are now ready and will positively start at daylight for Niagara where I expect we shall have plenty to do.

The man that was to be shot has been pardoned by the General with a promise that it would be the last (pardon). All the troops were paraded and the criminal was blindfolded when the pardon was read.

I wish you would write to Niagara so that I may hear from you before I march again.

P. McDonogh.

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on this service, most probably at Camp Dupont, when a daughter was born to him, September 29, 1814. This daughter is the only one of his numerous children now living.

In Shallus's Chronological Tables, vol. ii. p. 457, under date of December 11, 1814, we find: "Brig. Gen. Thos. Cadwallader appointed by Maj. Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines to the command of the 4th U. S. military district. Gen. Gaines took leave of the troops in general orders, to proceed to his command at New Orleans: at the same time he accepted the resignations of Col. John Thompson, Lieut. Col. Thos. Sherridan, Majors John Maitland, Geo. Nagle, Sam. Sparks, and Sam. Swift all of Genl. Thos. Snyder's Brigade."

(To be continued.)

THE RECORDS

OF THE

PARISH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

AT POST VINCENNES, IND.

A.D. 1749—1773.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY REV. EDMOND J. P. SCHMITT,
Fellow and Life Member of the Texas State Historical Association.

(CONTINUED.)

214.

[8]
2. October [ ] Ba. Catherine Crepeau. Bo. marriage bet. [L]ouis Crepeau & Louise Perthuis. G. M. Catherine Carron.

L. Vivier S. J.

Ma. Catherine Carron.
parisien witness.

215.

19. November, 1755, supplied ceremonies of Ba. [over] Magdeleine Chapers Bo. 4. same month. leg. marriage bet. Nicolas Chapers & Marie Clere Moquereley. G. F. Je. Baptiste Ste Marie. G. M. Magdeleine Vaudry.

L. Vivier S. J.

Jaubatis Sent Mari
Ma. Magdeleine Vaudry ×

216.

26. January, 1756, supplied ceremonies of Ba. over Angelique. Da. of françoise Indian slave of deslauriers. G. F. La Riviére. G. M. Angelique Beauchene. The slave declared the child was that of a young man called [ ] S. Jean [ ]

Vivier S. J.

217.

29. January, 1756. Ba. Antoine S. Pad[ouca] & Charlotte Indian slaves of toussaint la framboise married in sight of the church. G. F. Antoine la framboise. G. M. Jeanne du Devoir.

Vivier S. J.

Ma. Antoine la framboise Antoine ×
Ma. Jeanne du devoir ×

218.

[9]
[ ]mond small girl. named Louise. Mother did not remember the name [ ]

219.

[ ] S. 1756. Ba. with the ordinary ceremonies of the church. Agnes Bo. marriage bet. Louis Boyer & Marie Cauder. G. F. [Pierre]. Desanteuilles. G. M. Agnes Cauder.

Vivier S. J.

Ma. Pierre D'Auteuil ×
Ma. Agnes Cauder ×

220.

Bo. preceding day } 10. March. Ba. Etienne Casimir Bo. leg. marriage bet. Dorothée & Alexandre. Negro slaves of the R. P. Jesuits. G. F. Etienne Philibert. G. M. Anne du Devoir.

Phillibert.
Vivier S. J.

221.

19. June, 1756. Ba. Marie Anne Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. Jean Baptiste Renaud & therese mallet, G. F. Je. Bapt. Racine des Ste. Marie, G. M. Marie Anne Cauder.

Vivier S. J.

jan batist rasint
Ma. Marie Anne Cauder ×.

222.

7. November, 1756. Ba. Marie Bo. 17 October leg. marriage bet. jean Baptiste Vaudry & Agnelle richard. G. F. Michel drouet G. M. Angelique sans peur.

jul Devernay S: j.

Michel Drouet ×
Angelique sans peur ×

223.

1. September, 1757 Ba. jean Baptiste Bo. 31. Month August, of the same year leg. marriage bet. jean baptiste racine & anne Du Devoir. G. F. joseph racine. G. M. genevieve Du Devoir.

Jul. Devernai. of the Compg: of Jesus.

Joseph Racine ×
Genevieve de Devoir ×

224.

[10]

12. March, 1757. Ba. Nicolas tibe[ ] at geneve the 28 August 1729, & Don[ ] present. G. F. Mr. Louis St. Ange Commandant of the poste of Vincennes, G. M. Ma^de. V. Mal[ ]

jul. Devernai
Louis St. Ange[ ]
Widow Ma[ ]

225.

20. September, 1757, Ba. francoise Bo. 19 same month of [ ] marriage bet. jean baptiste regnaud & therese mallet. G. F. (Charles) riviere. G. M. françoise outelas.

jul Devernai jesuite

Ma. Charles riviere.
Ma. françoise outelas.
[The next entry is erased again and repeated in the following:]

226.

5. November, 1757, Ba. barbe boneau Bo. 19. April, 1756. Bo. leg. marriage bet. charles boneau & genevieve devoir. G. F. Louis Delisle. G. M. barbe Du Devoir

Lamorinie
Louis Delisle.
barbe du Devoir
Charles Bonnau.

227.

29. November, 1757, supplied ceremonies of baptism and Ba. under condition, Louise Crepeau Bo. 28 of the same month leg. marriage bet. Louis Crepeau & Louise perthuis. G. F. pierre Girardeau second ensign of a company of detached marines, G. M. Marie Magdeleine Vaudry.

jul Devernai jesuite
Girardot
×

[11]

228.

27. [ ] administered, [ ] 8, November, 1761 [ ] lionnais after having [ ]

229.

9. September, 1762 Bu. [ ] [after] having administered the sacraments of the church [ ]

230.

19. September, 1763, Bu. therese Mallet, wife of [ ] after having administered the sacraments of the church.

231.

22. September, 1763. Bu. Magdaleine (Angloise?) after having administered the sacraments of the church.

232.

September 1763 Ba. Ersl. 28. January, 1764 Died Claude boneau bo. since 18 January. Ba. L. in this parish.

Phillibert.

233.

The next day died, [M]ichel boneau his brother born on the 19 January [he uses a queer expression in these two entries "age de 18,—age de 19 janvier"] Ba. L. in this parish.

Phillibert.

234.

1764 Bu. françois Rasine surnamed beaulieu, who gave me signs of a Christian death at the poste 29. January, 1764.

Phillibert.

235.

[12]
[ ] gave me [ ] at [ ]

Phillibert.

236.

[ ] Bu. Marie [ ] gave signes of a Christian Death.

Phillibert.

237.

Same year Bu. Messire Antoine Drouet de Richarville who gave me signs of a Christian death at the poste 15. April, 1765.

Phillibert.

238.

Same year. Bu. Jilles. du May de La feuilliade who gave me signs of a Christian Death 18. May at the poste.

Phillibert.

239.

Same year, 16. July, Bu. Joseph le (pierre ou Jeune Junior), de boyyenly who gave me signs of a Christian death at the post

Phillibert.

240.

18. November, 1766, Bu. Mabel Joseph paupart, wife of jean baptiste Millson [Wilson?]. She gave me signs of a christian death at poste Vincennes the day and date as below.

Phillibert.

[He writes *dessious,* he probably wanted to spell *dessus* and signify "above."]

241.

1. February, 1769. Bu. joseph bautin, bachelor of about 55 years of age, who gave me Signs of a christian death at the poste, the day and year as above.

Phillibert.

242.

[13]

[One entry by Phillibert illegible.]

243.

1763. Ba. So. Louis ballayeul. [ ] G. F. [ ]. G. M. Magdeleine. [ ]

Phillibert.

[He probably intended to write *treize* instead of *trois.*]

244.

1773. Ba. L. Louis St. Aubin leg. So. of jean Baptiste St. Aubin & Louise de Devoir G. F. Louis bernard. G. M. Marguerite G bau[lon]. jean baptiste St. Aubin.

Phillibert.

245.

"L an mil sept soixante quatre vingt." [this should probably be as below, "soixante quatre 1764"] Ba. L. michel. leg. So. Charle Boneau & Genevieve Du Devoir. G. F. Michel Bonneau. G. M. Catherine Campos, wife of Rene Coderre la la . . . .

St. Xavier. the 11. January.

Bonnau
Phillibert.

246.

1764. same day. Ba. L. Claude So. leg. marriage bet. Charle Bonneau & Genevieve Du Devoir. G. F. Charle du Devoir. G. M. Marguerite. baubon. In the parish of St. Xavier 11. January.

Bonnau Phillibert.

247.

1764. Ba. L. Marie therese leg. Da. [Martin?] Cardinal & Marie joseph Girard. G. F. jean baptiste Cardinal. G. M. Marie joseph Derries, in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Phillibert.

248.

9. April, 1764. Ba. L. Demoiselle Elisabeth leg. Da. Messire Drouet De Richardville, & Demoiselle Houtelas. G. F. Michel de h(outelas). G. M. Elisabeth ban rin

G. M.

Ma. ×

Phil. [ ]

249.

[14]

3. May [ ] 64, Ba. L. marie [ ] Bc. same day leg. Da. bet. [ ] Codene & Catherine Campau. G. F. Louis. G. M. Marie Louise Codene, in the parish of St. Xavier, at poste Vincennes.

rene Corder.

Ma. × Marie. Louise

Ma. × Cayen

Phillibert.

250.

19. August, 1764. Ba. L. Marguerite, leg. Da. Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. joseph Ma[ ]aien & Marie Charlotte Campau. G. F. [f]rancois Malet. G. M. Helen la Lement in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Ma. × aoauen.

Ma. × cualo.

Ma. × Elene Lalemant

Phillibert.

251.

1. October 1764. Ba. L. Bo. same day illeg. marriage bet. Joseph Chenier & Louise Le panise o the Sieur de Quinte de [daunisle?]— G. F. jean Baptiste Vodin. G. M. Catherine Caupane, in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Ma. × vodué Ma. × Catherine Campau

Phillibert.

252.

20. October, 1764. Ba. L. Da. Bo, yesterday evening(?) leg. Marriage bete. [ ] Réne bault & Julie Cecille. G. F. antoine varada. [G. M]. devoir. in the parish. barad [ ]

Phillibert.

253.

[15]

June, Ba. L. other Da. her sister, [ ] Bo. leg. marriage [ ]bault & julie Cecile. Named [ ]rés joseph. G. F. jean baptiste Rasine, De St. Marie. G. M. joseph Danis. in the parish of St. Xavier.

Sent Marimorzint

Phillibert.

254.

3. November, 1764, Ba. L. a child called Michel, So. of jean baptiste Milhomme. [&] Ma que [Marie?] Joseph paupard, leg marriage. G. F. Michel Brouillet. G. M. Angelique Masin. In the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Milhomme

Phillibert.

255.

1764. Ba. L. according the intention of the church. a girl who was named Marie Josephine leg. marriage bet. Antoine bauredau & Marguerite. Dutueme. G. F. André[?] Colet, G. M. Marie Joseph Dunir. In the parish at poste Vincennes, 21 November

barada

Phillibert.

256.

1764. Ba. L. girl named Marie barbe. Bo. leg. marriage bet. Louis Edeligne & Marie Hommas. G. F. Jacque Denis. G. M. Marie Barbe Devoir. Said girl Bo. 13. December in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincenne.

Phillibert
L. E. Deline.

257.

1764. Ba. L. according the intention of the Church girl named Marie Joseph Bo. leg. marriage bet. Louis Crepaux & Louise perthius. G. F. Julien Chalboneau. G. M. Marie Joseph Danis, in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Chalbonnaux

Phillibert.

258.

[16]

10. January, 1765, Ba. L. [ ] Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. jean b[ ] Durbain marianne Des hetaes. G. F. A[ ] quedau. G. M. heleine Lallement. in the par[ ] St. Xavier at poste Vincennes.

Phillibert.

259.

12. February, 1765, Bo. leg. marriage bet. Charle Bonneau & Genevieve Du Devoir his wife, a boy who was named Claude. whom I immersed in the water of baptism according the intention of Holy Church G. F. Claude du Devoir. G. M. Marie Louise Cadene. and the same day there was Bo. a girl* from the same Father and mother, which I likewise immersed in the water of Baptism. G. F. jean baptiste peron. G. M. Marguerite Choje and in the parish of St. Xavier at poste Vincennes. The day and year as above.

du Devoir

Phillibert.

260.

28. August, 1765, Ba. L. girl Bo. leg. marriage bet. joseph Levaoin & joseph Airtas. G. F. Louis Cadea. G. M. Elisabeth Levaon.

Ma. ✕ ✕ G. F. & G. M.

Phillibert.

261.

4. August, 1765. Ba. L. according the intention of the Church, pierre, leg. So. of pierre Courllayer & Angelique Rasine G. F. jean Baptiste, Rasine. G. M. Angelique yilb[ ]

jan batis ra[ ]

Phillibert.

[17] 262.

Ba. L.

this same day leg.

Cardinal & Marie Joseph

jenevieve boneau.

Phillibert.

263.

Same day Ba. L. Susane Rose, Bo. leg. marriage bet. Nicolas Thibault & Amable St. Aubin. G. F. jean Louis Re Rayon. G. M. Ursule Chevmon.

Nicola thibau

Phillibert.

264.

23, april, same year. Ba. L. according the intention of our Mother the Church. boy Bo. 3. February, at poste Du quene of the same year. Bo. leg. marriage bet. pierre perin. & Marguerite (Mall?). He was named jean Baptiste. G. F. Jean Bapt. Rasine Ste. Marie. G. M. Mariane du Devir. In the parish of St. Xavier.

Ste Marit

Phillibert.

---

* She was called Lourloise.

265.

3. June, same year Ba. L. according intention of the church. girl Bo. same day. named therese Bo. leg. marriage bet. Antoine bordeleau & Cath[erine] la bon. G. F. Vital Caron. her uncle, G. M. Marie jeanne Peron. en parish St. Xavier.

[Phil]libert.

266.

[18]

9, [ ] 1769. according intention of our [ ] Bo. same day leg. [ ] & Susane ballouil. [ ] of provencal. G. M. [ ] St. Xavier, day as above

Ph[illibert]

267.

7. [ ] same year [ ] of the church, girl named (agatha?) Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. Louis Le May & Marie Charlote Le Laerty. G. F. francois Laniolete. G. M. Marie jeanne Cardinal. In the parish of St. Xavier.

jan Cardinalle.

Phillibert.

268.

Same year, 12 [seems to be November] Ba. L. girl. named Marie Charlote. Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. Joseph la feuill [ ] & Angelique Emelin. G. F. Joseph La belle. G. M. Charlote Renaud. en parish of St. Xavier:

Charlot
Renaud

Phillibert Joseph Labell.

[In a note, in the margin]

"baptized under condition by me P. Gibault. Priest."

269.

28 November same year, Ba. L. according the intention of the Church a girl named Ursule Bo. same day, leg. marriage bet. jean francois Clermont & Ursule Chereu. G. F. Sr. Louis Clermond Grandfather of the girl. G. M. jean Du Devoir wife of J. Bte. Ste. Marie at the poste parish of St. Xavier.

Phillibert.

270.

[19]

× October, 1767, Bu. [ ] gave me signs of a Chri[stian] death. [ ] Bo. in Burgogne. at the poste the day and year

Phillibert.

271.

17. April, 1770. Bu. Etienne Martins, gave signs of a Christian death. Died 16. same month. at poste Vincennes, in the parish of St. François Xavier.

Etienne juteau guardian of the said church.

272.

20. April, 1770. Bu. Louis [ ]quimont, who gave me signs of a christian death. Died 19 of the same month in the parish of St. francois Xavier, at poste Vincennes. He was Bo. at Cap St. Ignace in the lower part of Quebec.

Etienne juteau

Guardian of the said church.

273.

10, April same year, Bu. Marie Louise Da. of jean Baptiste rasalee & marie francoise Saurel Tusan his wife. Ba. L. 10. same month died one hour after. Bu. next day in our cemetery of the parish of St. francois exavier at post vincinne.

Etienne juteau guardian of said church.

274.

30, January, 1771. Bu. by us, missionary priest, in the Cemetery of this parish of St. francois Xavier. (on 88 acres?) the body of Joseph Perron Dt. Melayer. Died yesterday fortified with the sacraments of Penance and Extreme unction. Not being able to receive Holy Viaticum on account of his sickness. He was about fifty years of age or more. Present: [ ]ans Copuim, Barthe La framboise, and several others.

Pr. G[ibault].

275.

1777. [ ]pahaise Catherine Ledihe wife [ ]ubue, absence of priest. [ ] [pa]rish St. Xavier.

276.

[20]

18. September, [17]77 Bu. in cemetery of this parish of St. Xavier, Charle Leuvar Dit Belorny

Phillibert, Chanter.

277.

30. October, 1777, Bu. in Cemetery of this parish of St. Xavier joseph Custas wife of the Sr. Andre la Coste dit Languedoc

Phillibert, Chanter.

278.

1. November, 1777 Bu. Jacque ducvo Dit la terhem in the cemetery of the same parish St. Xavier.

Phillibert, Chanter.

279.

3. November, 1777. Bu. in the cemetery of this parish joseph La pointe. Died yesterday.

Phillibert, Chanter.

280.

22. Nov. 1777, Bu. in the cemetery of this parish an Indian woman called Viltoise who received Holy Baptism Died yesterday.

Phillibert, Chanter.

281.

30. March, 1778, Bu. in the cemetery of this parish André Rambault Dit Langaumois who was found dead yesterday having died suddenly but having made his Easter duties in the mission of Monsieur Gibault, so there was no difficulty in granting him sepulture.

Phillibert.

282.

[ ] 22. March, Bu. in the cemetery [ ]ialque Rarindeau Dit ejould[ ] a death truly [ ]

Phillibert.

283.

[21]

28. June, 1773, in the absence of a priest, Ba. L. according the intention of Our Holy Mother the Church, Girl, Bo. same day, leg. marriage bet. francois Mathin & Magdeleine baulon. she was called Mahie —— therese. G. F. jean bine. G. M. Elisabeth Durand.

Phillibert.

284.

26. July, 1773 Ba. L. according intention of our Mother Holy Church, girl, Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. francois Malot & Charlote Leroud. named Marie Louise. G. F. Louis Malet. G. M. Susane baubon. en absence of a priest in the parish of St. Xavier.

louig Mallette

Phillibert.

285.

11. August, 1773. Ba. L. boy Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. piere quenel dit la tulippe & Joseph Petthier. G. F. J. Bte. Voduy. G. M. La sibeen wife of La Emmanille in the parish of St. Xavier.

Phillibert.

286.

30. August, 1773 Ba. L. according the intention of the Church, girl. Bo. same day named Marie Anne leg. marriage bet. nicola thibault & Joseph St. Aubin. G. F. Jean Baptiste prudhon G. M. Marianne St. jeorge. in the parish of St. Xavier.

Phillibert.

287.

10. September 1773, Ba. L. girl Bo. same day named françoise, leg. marrriage bet. Je Bte St. Aubin & Louise Denis. G. F. Sr. J Bte Chapaton. G. M. Demoiselle francoise Dratel. in the parish of St. Xavier.

V. G. Chapaten

jean baptiste St. Aubin

Philibert, Guardian.

288.

[22]

[The next seventeen entries are countersigned at a later date in new ink: "I the undersigned priest have supplied the ceremonies of Holy Baptism."]

P. Gibault. Miss. Pr.

289.

23. October, 1773, Ba. L. [according the intention] of our Mother Holy Church, Ambroise. Bo. same [day] marriage bet. Sr. Ambroise dayenell & dainoy [ ] G. F. Messire Antoine Drou[et] G. M. Demoiselle Langeville Drouet Suere in the parish of St. Xavier.

Phillibert.

290.

20. November, 1773. Ba. L. according the intention of the Church, girl named felicité Bo. same day, leg. marriage bet. Louis Coder & Barbe Levrond. G. F. Grandue (francois?) Langedau. G. M. Catherine langu[ ]

Phillibert.

291.

16. December, 1773, Ba. L. Marie Archange. Bo. same day leg. marriage bet. pierre Peron, Jr. (fils) & therese houtia. G. F. pier peron her Gr. F. G. M. Marianne Painaux.

Phillibert.

292.

21. December, 1773. Ba. L. according the intention of the Church. Antoine Richard. Bo. leg. marriage bet. joseph (Ric.) sonville & Marguerite des pointes. G. F. francois Saissie. G. M. Agnes Boyer.

Phillibert.

293.

[23]

19. January, 1774. Ba. L. according the intention of our Mother Holy Church. Marie Angelique. Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. Dominic berguanne & helene paivier G. F. J Bte. Huberdeau. G. M. Marie Angelique bertheaume. J Bte Huberdeau. true copy

Phillibert.

294.

29. January, 1774, Ba. L. according the intention of the Church. boy Bo. same day, named jean leg. marriage bet. jean bino & magdeleine Languedau. G. F. André Peltier. G. M. Marie Abel.

Phillibert.

295.

28. January. Ba. L. according the intention of Holy Church. Marie Louise Bo. leg. marriage bet. Etienne ja[ ] & Marie Louise ahats slaves belonging to jean Baptiste Vaudry. G. F. I Etienne Phillibert. G. M. Marie Vaudry.

296.

30 January, 1774, Ba. L. according the intention of Holy Church, françois Bo. same day. leg. marriage bet. francois Coder & Marie therese Compagnote. G. F. jean baptiste Cardinal. G. M. Catherine Coupault (Courjault)

francois Coder Copie.

Phillibert.

297.

2. February, 1774, Ba. L. according the intention of Holy Church, girl Bo. 20 (or 30.) January. named Catherine. Bo. leg. marriage bet. J. Bte. tonga dit Laniolete & [ ] Crepaux. G. F. Louis Crepaux her [ ] G. M. jeanne Cardinalle.

Phillibert.

298.

[24]

15. May, 1774, Ba. L. Louis So. jean baptiste Cantuan & Catherine Campault. Bo. same day leg. marriage. G. F. Louis Jean Baptiste Vaudry. G. M. Catherine Campault. en the parish of St. Xavier.

Phillibert.

299.

[In the following entries I only noted the necessary points of information.]

300.

16. May, 1774. Ba. L. Louis. Bo 16. May. Parents: Sieur Louis boauille & Louise denoyer. G. F. pierre de Noyer. Gr. F. of the child. G. M. Angelique perodort.

Phillibert.

301.

25. June, 1774. Ba L. Cecile. Bo. 25. June. Parents: pierre bequect & Catherine poitier. G. F. pierre tamisier. G. M. Cecile la Carle.

Phillibert.

302.

12, July, 1774. Ba. L. Marie Louise Bo. 12. July. Parents. Charles Campault & Louise St. Sentrin. G. F. joseph Dajene. G. M. Helene Lalemend.

Phillibert.

303.

16. July, 1774, Ba. L. pierre. Bo. 16th July. Parents: Antony bordeleau & Catherine Caron. G. F. pierre tomisier. G. M. Marie Louise Denis.

Phillibert.

304.

9. August, 1774. Ba. L. Cecile. Parents: André A Ser. & Angelique St. Hiver. G. F. Michel brouil[lette]. G. M. Cecile Campault.

Phillibert.

305.

14. August, 1774. Ba. L. 14. August: Parents: Charles baubon & josette Coder. G. F. J. Bte. Vaudry G. M. Josette ducoy[ ]

Phillibert.

306.

20. August. 1774. Ba. L. Pierre. Bo. 20. August. Parents pierre Coder & Susanne baulon. No sponsors:

Phillibert.

[26]

[The following seven entries are by Father Peter Gibault.]

307.

24. January, 1773. we. Missionary priest, Ba. Jean Baptiste. Born the 17th of the last year [December?] leg. marriage bet. Jean Bte. Du Bois & Marie Euphrosine La Belle his wife. G. F. the Sieur Jean Bapt. Racine de Ste. Marie. G. M. Dame françoise De Outlas Spouse of Sieur Ambroise Dugenai.

Otlas Dagenai

P. Gibault, Pr.

308.

18. January, 1773 having published the three bans of marriage bet. André peltier So. of joseph peltier & Marianne Roucher, his parents natives of Roc province of Quebec, and Angelique La Coste Da. of françois la Coste & Magdeleine Bouron, her parents, native of Detroit.

No canonical impediment having been discovered, we undersigned missionary priest have received their mutual consent of marriage and have imparted to them the Nuptial Blessing according the form prescribed by our Mother the Holy Catholic Apostolic & Roman Church, and in presence of the bridegroom and bride. Dand La Coste & françois La Coste her cousins.

P. Gibault.

309.

26. January, 1773, Ba. Helene Bo. 3. June 1762 of Pierre Grimard & Genevieve Colonel. G. F. françois tudel. G. M. Helene Lallement.

P. Gibault.

310.

26. January, 1773. Ba. conditionally Marie Joseph, Bo. 10. September, 1771. of Pierre tierrai dit la tulippe & Marie Joseph pelletier. G. F. Antoine Moreau G. M. Jeanne Cardinal.

P. Gibault.

[27]

[This page should precede the foregoing.]

311.

18. January 1773. Ba. conditionally Jeanne, Bo. 10. September, 1772 of Jean Bte. Binot & Magdeleine La Coste. G. F. francois Martin. G. M. Anne Du Devoir.

P. Gibault.

312.

18. January 1773. published 3 bans bet. francois Gauderr native of Ouiatenons So. of francois Gauderr & Agnes Richard his parents. & Marie therese Campagnot native of Mobile. Da. of francois Campagnot & Marie Anne Roneyon her parents. No. imped. Pres. Sr. Racine, Le Beaulon Pierre Cartier Barthellemi.

313.

26. January 1763 [Sic!] publishe bans bet. Aimable Beaulon, native of St. Joseph, So. of Gabriel baulon & Suzane Menard & Marie Joseph Gaudere, native of Ouiatenons. Da. of françois Godere & Agnes Richard. no. impediment. married in presence of: Gabriel Beaulon his father, Louis Beaulon his brother. Jean Bte. de Bosseron his friend and her brothers francois and Louis Goderre, Pierre Cartier and Andre Peltier.

BY-PATHS OF HISTORY.

Assumption and Presumption.

"Cathedral Days: A Tour in Southern England." It is an attractive title. It stimulated me to the double design of buying the book and of "doing" the cathedrals of Southern England. The first design was faithfully carried out, but some fate forbade the accomplishment of the second. I found, however, a kind of entertainment which I had neither sought nor expected in the sufficiently elegant volume of three hundred and ninety pages, rendered highly attractive by its title, its neat binding, its clear and bold typography, and its twenty-four really beautiful illustrations,—illustrations whose mere titles suggest a world of holiest romance. These titles are Catholic to the core,—Chichester Cross, Nun's Door (Romsey Abbey), Chantries (Winchester), St. Cross Hospital, to say nothing of Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter cathedrals. All these are verily "sermons in stones;" and were it not for their present use, they are likewise "good in everything." They almost render superfluous the four ponderous tomes in which an enterprising publisher has issued a new edition of Kenelm Digby's "Mores Catholici."

As I turned from picture to picture I almost forgot that English statecraft had "reformed" these living temples of God into mere corpses. The happy expression of Madame de Staël's must receive a new and peculiar accent before it may be made to characterize these architectural simulacra; for they are no longer "frozen *music*," but "*frozen* music." Stone and mortar no more make a "church" than flesh and bone make a man. The tabernacle is the heart of a church. The old cathedral hearts are lifeless now.

And so it happened that I could not look upon these pictorial illustrations as representative of any present fact without a shudder such as we bestow on the coffin of a friend.

But memory and imagination are generous allies; they gently lead us away from the contemplation of the mouldering flesh and bone which no longer make the friend, back to the living tenement we knew of old,—the warm heart, the active brain, the voice vibrating with the sympathy of life, the open windows through which we might see deep down into the soul of a friend. In much the same way, although stone and mortar no more make the cathedrals of old, they led me back to the days when the Living God dwelt within His Holy Temple. The illustrations made me aware, not of death, but of life,—the fragrance of incense from a hundred swinging censers, the dazzling glory of a thousand tapers, the wrecked sunlight heaping up on the stone floors a flotsam richer than the dyes of Tyre, the sonorous chanting that played hide-and-seek through an endless maze of elusive echoes, and, with all this very dreamland of splendors as a setting, the "pearl of great price," the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which in Reformation times was indeed "cast before swine" and trampled under a million miry hoofs,—all of this leaped out of the printed page.

I. Clerical Ear-Marks.

Now, it is quite reasonable for the Catholic reader to look for, and to find, in the illustrations of a book dealing with old Catholic cathedrals, all these inalienable suggestions and implications. But while I found this pleasant dreamland (no thanks to the authoress, Anna Bowman Dodd, however; for had I not the mystic Aladdin's Lamp of my Catholic faith and love, which could change her frozen music into a living temple?)—while, as I say, I found all this in the volume, I became suddenly aware of a kind of entertainment which I had not expected. Shall I not share it with you, my gentle reader? Accordingly, I transcribe here some of the things I did not expect to find in a book with such an attractive title. We are doing Arundel; and there

"One face we met, which seemed strangely out of keeping with such surroundings. It was a curiously un-English face. It belonged to a man who was hurrying past us, with a book in his hand, on the cover of which there was a large gilt cross. The face was long and dark,

clean-shaven, with deep-set, wary eyes, and a sly curve on the full lips. It needed neither the abbé's long fluttering coat nor its purple lining to tell us it was the face of a priest." (P. 31.)

Physiognomy is a great science. American caricaturists are, I think, easily first in the art whose existence King Duncan so sadly denied, of reading "the mind's complexion in the face." Some of the candidates for "the highest offices within the gift of the people," as the cant goes, must confess as much when they glance over the comic papers before an election. A curve here, an angle there, and the face is recognizable a square away; for it is not the face, but the soul behind it, that is hinted at in a stroke of the pencil. Our authoress is an American, too, and she has skilfully seized on the salient features of the sacerdotal face (they are all alike, you know, those "Romish" priests). It must be so, you see; for, as the soul of the priest is full of casuistic philosophy, of double-dealing diplomacy, of no-faith-to-be-kept-with-heretics piety, and the-end-justifies-the-means morality; as his is a character made up of shreds and patches, we need not be very shrewd to perceive in his face the impress of such a mind. Accordingly, if you see anywhere a face "long and dark, clean-shaven, with deep-set, wary eyes, and a sly curve on the full lips," you shall not need to look farther to see a book with a "large gilt cross" on the cover (that "eternal Breviary," as Dickens called it). Elements of identification other than those furnished by the face are superfluous. You recognize at once that such a face can belong only, and that it necessarily belongs, to a priest. We are grateful to our authoress for such a condensed portraiture.

As I am not writing now for busy readers, but rather rambling in the fashion of Ik Marvel (although I *do hope,* with more pertinency than that much-read bachelor), I venture to pursue, very slightly, this question of clerical physiognomy. I yield to the pleasant temptation of extracting two descriptions from "The Cardinal's Snuff-Box," by Henry Harland (London: John Lane, 1900), which if you have not read as yet, I can only felicitate you on an easy opportunity for en-

joying a few delightful hours with a really good story-teller. The Cardinal has as *vis-à-vis* his niece, the heroine of the story:

"The Cardinal chuckled.

"'Ah, one must keep one's hand in. And one must not look like a Jesuit for nothing.'

"'Do you look like a Jesuit?'

"'I have been told so.'

"'By whom, for mercy's sake?'

"'By a gentleman I had the pleasure of meeting not long ago in the train,—a very gorgeous gentleman, with gold chains and diamonds flashing from every corner of his person, and a splendid waxed moustache, and a bald head which, I think, was made of polished pink coral. He turned to me in the most affable manner, and said, "I see, reverend sir, that you are a Jesuit."'"

I presume that my readers will immediately surmise that the Cardinal, if he was mistaken for a Jesuit, must have had all the features of a simple priest exaggerated to the *n*th degree (or, perhaps, to the Masonic "33d" degree); that the face must have been most "curiously un-English," as our authoress, quoted above, remarks; that the "deep-set, wary eyes" must have been almost hidden in their sockets and their wariness expressed by a mere slit of the lids; that the "sly curve on the full lips" must have been—but here I should be compelled to invoke the aid of Analytical Geometry to calculate such a curve, and of Descriptive Geometry to project it on paper. Strange to relate, the Cardinal's face was not of this kind.

"He was an oldish priest,—sixty, sixty-five. He was small, lightly built, lean-faced, with delicate, strong features, a prominent, delicate nose, a well-marked, delicate jaw-bone, ending in a prominent, delicate chin, a large, humorous mouth, the full lips delicately chiselled, a high, delicate, perhaps rather narrow brow, rising above humorous gray eyes, rather deep-set. Then he had silky, soft, smooth white hair, and, topping the occiput, a tonsure that might have passed for a natural bald spot.

"He was decidedly clever-looking; he was aristocratic-looking, distinguished-looking; but he was, above all, pleasant-looking, kindly-looking, sweet-looking.

"He wore a plain black cassock, by no means in its first youth, brown along the seams, and, at salient angles, at the shoulders, at the

elbows, shining with the lustre of hard service. Even without his cassock, I imagine, you would have divined him for a clergyman: he bore the clerical impress, that odd indefinable air of clericism which every one recognizes, though it might not be altogether easy to tell just where or from what it takes its origin. In the garb of an Anglican —there being nothing, at first blush, necessarily Italian, necessarily un-English, in his face—he would have struck you, I think, as a pleasant, shrewd old parson of the scholarly earnest type, mildly donnish, with a fondness for gentle mirth. What, however, you would scarcely have divined—unless you had chanced to notice, inconspicuous in this sober light, the red sash around his waist, or the amethyst on the third finger of his right hand—was his rank in the Roman hierarchy. I have the honor of presenting his Eminence Egidio Maria Cardinal Udeschini, formerly Bishop of Cittareggio, Prefect of the Congregation of Archives and Inscriptions.

"That was his title ecclesiastical. He had two other titles. He was a Prince of the Udeschini by accident of birth. But his third title was perhaps his most curious. It had been conferred upon him informally by the populace of the Roman slum in which his titular church, St. Mary of the Lilies, was situated,—the Little Uncle of the Poor.

"As Italians measure wealth, Cardinal Udeschini was a wealthy man. What with his private fortune and official stipends, he commanded an income of something like a hundred thousand lire. He allowed himself five thousand lire a year for food, clothing, and general expenses. Lodging and service he had for nothing in the palace of his family. The remaining ninety-odd thousand lire of his budget—— Well, we all know that titles can be purchased in Italy; and that was no doubt the price he paid for the title I have mentioned.

"However, it was not in money only that Cardinal Udeschini paid. He paid also in labor. I have said that his titular church was in a slum. Rome surely contained no slum more fetid, none more perilous, —a region of cut-throat alleys, south of the Ghetto, along the Tiber bank. Night after night, accompanied by his stout young vicar, Don Georgio Apolloni, the Cardinal worked there as hard as any hard-working curate, visiting the sick, comforting the afflicted, admonishing the knavish, persuading the drunken from their taverns, making peace between the combative. . . . And his home-comings were apt to be late, oftener than not after midnight. . . . And every Saturday evening the Cardinal Prefect of Archives and Inscriptions sat for three hours boxed up in his confessional like any parish priest."

Clerical physiognomy must be an interesting science; but, apparently, its types are not very clearly defined. The faces of cardinal and abbé are both those of Catholic priests, yet

they seem to be opposite as the poles. But let us return to the "abbé:"

"As he neared the great castle gate-way, I saw it open, the keeper within bowing as the abbé passed beyond.

"I remembered then that the castle was a great Catholic stronghold, the Dukes of Norfolk being among the few great families which have remained faithful, since the Conquest, to the See of Rome." (P. 31.)

We are now bidden to look at the cathedral, "the gift of the present duke." And I seize the opportunity afforded by a new topic to place a new heading.

II. "A Marked Catholic Majority."

Our authoress sketches rapidly the external appearance of the Cathedral:

"It is a pretty structure, pointed Gothic in style, conscientiously reproduced with all the aid of flying buttresses, niches, pinnacles, and arches. It was doubtless a splendid gift. . . .

"But all the beauty of ecclesiastical picturesqueness lies across the way. Hidden behind the lovely beech-arched gate-way rests the old parochial church. . . .

"We were curious to see which church would have the greater number of worshippers,—how many of his townsfolk the duke had managed to hold faithful to the Pope." (Pp. 32, 33.)

It was, indeed, an interesting question; it was a curiosity which we fully share. This old parochial church was once Catholic: "In spite of restoration the age of six centuries is written unmistakably on the massive square bell-tower, the thirteenth century traceries, and the rich old glass." A high wall separates it from the duke's castle; whereupon our authoress comments, somewhat queerly, as follows:

"It is guarded by a high wall from the adjoining castle walls, as if the castle still feared there were something dangerously infectious in the mere propinquity of such heresies." (P. 33.)

This sentence seeems slightly twisted. What is "guarded"? The old parochial church. From what is it "guarded"? From the castle walls. The inference from this should be that it is

the old church, rather than the castle, that fears the infection of heresies.

But I must not stave off further the answer furnished to the interesting question mooted by our authoress. "We were curious," she says, "to see which church would have the greater number of worshippers." The answer, however complacently given by her, must prove a shocking surprise to her readers:

"The ducal influence had, we found, prevailed over her Majesty's less ancient established church." (P. 33.)

Dear! dear! Penal laws, and oh, ye shades of Protestant penalizers! And oh, dungeon and rack and gibbet! Has the "ducal influence" prevailed thus mightily over ye all? Surely that word "established" was a thoughtless insertion. It immediately precipitates the query, How established? It immediately suggests a comparison between those moral forces filling the Cathedral of Arundel with worshippers and those other brute forces which established Protestantism in England but could not bring a willing throng to worship in the desecrated temples.

Our authoress continues complacently to exacerbate the pitiful sore:

"At the little cathedral church there was, we found on the first Sunday morning of our stay, a marked Catholic majority." (P. 34.)

It should be a disquieting admission, however complacently made. But the obvious moral is the one which will not be drawn. Instead, we have the following:

"In spite of the more splendid ceremonial at St. Philip de Neri, in spite of the pomp of scarlet-robed priests and the glory of a double choir, in spite of the subtle intoxication of the incense and the pictorial attractions of burning tapers and flower-decked altars, it was the simpler, the more earnest worship in the old church beneath the cypresses that touched our hearts and made us one with the worshippers. There was a ring in the responses, and a fervor in the way the hymns burst forth from the fresh, strong English throats, drowning the less-meaning music of the birds twittering at the open door, that made one know

and feel, with full strength of inherent conviction, just why it is an Englishman is by instinct a Protestant. His religion must appeal to his understanding; it must stir his soul. He is not satisfied with being moved superficially. He is not poet enough to possess vast perspectives, or so delicately organized that he can vibrate to purely sensuous imageries. There is precision even in the English imagination, as there are limitations to English sensibilities."

Now, all this rhapsodical moralizing, if I were thoroughly to explore it, would lead me too far afield. A word or two upon her moral, and I have done with it.

Our authoress implies that the worshippers in the Cathedral of Arundel are drawn thither in large numbers by the gorgeousness of spectacular effects. She was present, evidently, at the "High Mass," and was in blissful ignorance of the still more populous "Low" masses preceding the "High" in our churches. She finds at the one—the unique—morning service of the Protestant parochial church only a sparse attendance. The moral is, as I have said, a very obvious one. Her moral is, nevertheless, very different. I wish she had seen the attendance at the "Low" masses. But I am afraid her moral would not have been written, in that case, for she would not have witnessed any spectacular sensuousness of tapers, vestments, etc., and her moral is really too good to miss. It seems, then, that the religion of an Englishman "must appeal to his understanding." From this two alternative conclusions may be drawn: First, the very small proportion of the Arundel population present in that parochial church seems to prove that the Protestant religion does not appeal to the understanding of Englishmen, for if it did, we should naturally look to see "standing room only." Or, secondly, as the Protestant religion is the only one appealing to his reason, and as, nevertheless, he is found but sparsely scattered in the parochial church at its only Sabbath-morning service, the worshippers at the various morning services at the Cathedral cannot have been Englishmen, but Jesuits in disguise. The Duke of Norfolk, too, cannot be an Englishman; for he is the very head and front of the offending, having built with his precious guineas the well-filled Cathedral.

III. My Moral.

I have taken these interesting extracts from "Cathedral Days," a volume which is not published by the Society for the Prevention of Christian Knowledge. The book gives no hint, in its title-page, of the refreshingly spontaneous and frank bigotry that enlivens its pages. It is not published in London by the Religious Tract Society, but in Boston, U. S. A., by Little, Brown & Co. Its author assumes throughout that the only people in America who are able to read are Protestants; that her readers approve her preaching tone and egregious moralizing. This assumption (I have got down at last to my specific theme in this paper) shapes so largely the expression of writers and the views of publishers in the United States, that an archæologist of some future age, rummaging among the remains of this day of ours, must certainly suppose that we were a "Protestant nation." The minds of our separated brethren are, indeed, thoroughly imbued with this idea; an idea to which they not infrequently give formal and open expression. *Zion's Herald* of August 1, 1900, in an editorial on "The Voter's Duty," said,—

> "It does not look as though it were pure human contrivance to select Dewey to command our fleet in the Asiatic waters; or that he should have been at Hongkong just when he was; or that he should have formed the purpose to do just what he did and as he did it, and establish himself on shore after the world-famous battle of May 1, 1898; or that those most beautiful islands of the Pacific, named for one of the worst monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Spain, should come into the possession of the *most Protestant* nation of the nineteenth century. We have been making history at a tremendous rate the past three years. . . . The giant oak cannot be crowded back into its acorn shell. A nation of eighty millions has altogether different responsibilities from those of a nation of five millions."

The italics are mine. Of the "nation of eighty millions" (this over-large estimate preceded the published results of the last census), some fifteen millions are Catholics. How many of the remainder are Unitarians, Jews, agnostics, infidels, Mormons? How many are Romanizing Episcopalians or rational-

izing Protestants,—how many, that is to say, are rather Catholics, and how many are rather pagans, than Protestants, who shall venture to declare? To develop the suggestiveness of such thoughts as these would again lead me too far afield. But every one of us is aware of the universal lament going up from the Protestant press and pulpit, a lament almost as piteous as that of the Prophet of old, as the city of his love lay desolate before his eyes,—"she that was full of people." The pulpits are growing fewer, the churches emptier, the "religious press" weaker, day after day. If Protestantism means any definite belief, or even any collection of innumerably varying beliefs,—if it, indeed, means any other thing whatever than a "protest" against the vitality and constant growth of the Catholic Church (a protest in which Ingersoll joined as heartily as any Protestant believer),—then is America surely not a Protestant country. I have read somewhere in the secular press a statement to the effect that no more than twenty-two millions of Americans are even church-goers. "Is it strange," asks a writer in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (October, 1900, p. 398), "that while Catholic priests by their missions to Protestants are yearly bringing thousands and tens of thousands into the Church, the Methodists, popularly considered to be the most powerful branch of Protestantism, are issuing calls for special prayers and fasting in view of the frightful decrease in their church membership?" The writer appends this foot-note:

"See the extract from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* in the New York *Sun*—newspaper—of March 21, 1900: 'The Rev. John F. Fisher, presiding elder, said, "A grave condition confronts the Methodist Church. There has been a decline of twenty-one thousand in membership during the present year."' Commenting on this same decrease in the Methodist Church, the *Presbyterian* says, 'What is true of one is true in a great measure of every branch.' The Methodist Bishop Andrews, in an interview, stated: 'It is true there has been a diminution, but I do not believe that it has been peculiar to ourselves. Other sects as well have been affected in the same way.'"

It needs no modern Daniel come to judgment to read so clear a handwriting on the wall. And yet, forsooth, this is "the most Protestant nation."

In a hundred ways is this Assumption evidenced. I quote from the *Literary Digest* (October 13, 1900):

"Some interesting facts are brought to light by an examination of the attitude of the religious press towards the issues involved in the Presidential campaign. The Springfield *Republican,* which takes probably as strictly neutral a position with relation to the campaign as does any daily paper in the United States, has lately made the statement that the religious press is 'a unit for McKinley.' It says, 'We are impressed with the fact that so far as they show political sympathies—and most of them do—practically all are supporting Mr. McKinley. Not a single outspoken Bryan sympathizer is found among the denominational organs that find their way into this office.'"

The *Digest* itself steers clear of such an Assumption. It calls attention to the "important Roman Catholic press" of the country, "which represents doubtless several millions of votes." But what an amazing statement for so prominent a paper as the Springfield *Republican* to make! And the Chicago *Tribune* declared that "the religious press is a unit in support of McKinley." The Chicago *New World* (September 29, 1900) feels the prestige of the Catholic press wounded by such an oversight, and says, *inter alia,*—

"The simple fact of the matter is that, when the editorial writer in the *Tribune* states that the religious press of the country is a unit for McKinley and his Philippine policy, he states what is not the fact. There are quite a number of Catholic weeklies in this country. Some few of these have not taken sides in this Philippine controversy one way or the other. But the great majority of them have taken sides, and have declared against the policy of the Administration. It is difficult to suppose that the editorial writer in the *Tribune* can be ignorant of this fact. We do not mean to claim that he reads the Catholic religious weeklies very regularly; yet it is hardly to be supposed that he is not informed of the fact of their general attitude on this question. Putting the case most favorably to him, it is plain that either he is culpably ignorant on a question on which he professes to speak with knowledge, or he deliberately and wilfully misrepresents the fact in order to score a point. He can take his choice."

The following cutting from the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* I found under the heading "Christian Endeavor—Helps on the Lesson, by Rev. Floyd W. Tompkins" (Sunday, August

26, 1900). I do not quote it as a slight put upon Catholics,—although it is such,—but as an illustration of the Protestant assumption that "we" are a Protestant nation.

"American schools and colleges, American libraries and reading-rooms, from the Kindergarten to the post-graduate school, are the results of our grand Protestant faith in God from Whom all knowledge comes."

IV. Non-Sectarian Histories.

This Assumption, thus incessantly borne in upon us by the daily press, by works such as "Cathedral Days" (a work illustrating the view-point of "general literature"),—this Assumption, thus largely spread abroad, is further inculcated even in educational literature emanating, not from publication societies of the various sects, but even from such publishing houses as look for support to Catholic as well as to Protestant institutions. Who is not familiar with the series of Primers published by D. Appleton & Co.? It was not a "religious" firm, and the Primers were not designed for use in Sunday-schools. I have had for a long time in my possession one of these, entitled "Mediæval Civilization." It was written by George Burton Adams, then (1883) of Drury College, Springfield, Mo., now of Yale University. Although very offensive to Catholic interests, I have never come across any protest against it, in all the long space of time it has been on the market and, perhaps, in use in secular schools. It is designed to serve the purposes of a general secular education; and yet a more flagrantly one-sided exposition, not of history but of Christianity, could scarce have been compiled. Let me transcribe some passages.

Our author speaks of the period from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Reformation,—a period of one thousand years,—and says,—

"These ages are dark ages,—that is, they are ignorant and superstitious ages, and could they have been otherwise? The torch of knowledge which antiquity had kindled had fallen from the hands that held it and burned but feebly on the ground. The newcomers were ignorant barbarians. A pure Christianity, could it have been main-

tained, might have furnished the conditions of progress in knowledge. But Christianity had fallen into the hands of ignorant, and, worse still, into the hands of selfish men, and though its true light continued to shine from century to century, yet it shone but dimly, and in its proper place men had set up a misleading *ignis fatuus.*" (Pp. 14, 15.)

I had thought the time must long since have passed when any but the most ignorant and withal most blatantly bigoted preacher could speak in such terms. What shall we think of an historian who could deliberately write this, and write it, not for a Sunday-school, but for the general public?

The author deals with the origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. I have not met the word "jurisdiction" in his volume; but its portentous significance is, of course, explained away. That in attempting to do this the author should have involved himself in a really laughable perplexity of terms was to be expected. Bossuet, in his "Variations," has finely analyzed the difficulties of the Reformers in respect of their "invisible Church." Our author runs plump into some of them at the outset:

"There had never been wanting, in the early Church, the belief in its *spiritual* unity. They were all members together of one *body,*— members of the universal Church of God on earth." (Pp. 24, 25.)

I have italicized the significant difficulties of his contention. To understand more fully his perplexities, and the amazing effrontery with which his teachers in religion must have ridden him roughshod over them, read the Fifteenth Book of the "Variations," follow on with pages 88-93 of "My Clerical Friends" (a most amusing series of seventeen propositions), and finish with John Henry Newman's "Primitive Christianity" (Chapter IV.), written while he was still an Anglican. I fear suggesting too much reading matter; but I still venture to add Chapter V. of the last-named work, especially the first two pages, as they are peculiarly applicable to the present question.

There were various indications among the earliest Christians, remarks Mr. Adams, of a fraternal feeling. "But,"

he continues, "these things do not *necessarily* imply any official unity, and *decisive* signs of that are everywhere wanting." I have italicized "necessarily" and "decisive." Of course, polemics will dispute, according to their prepossessions, as to the "decisiveness" of a sign. Our Lord gives a startling illustration, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, of how men will shut their eyes to the clearest evidence: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, if one rise from the dead!" The Jews, as we know, strengthened themselves against our Saviour's "decisive" signs (with all their "necessary" implications) by the comfortable and easy argument that "by Beelzebub, the Prince of devils, he casteth out devils."

Men will continue to dispute the decisiveness of signs. Mr. Adams's book is not alone in the business. And the reason why I speak at such length of the book is not because he chooses to moot a question of the decisiveness of signs, but because he does this in a professedly non-sectarian publication, and because that, in thus mooting the question, he also undertakes to pass, on the whole issue raised, a purely partisan judgment.

The jurisdiction of bishops he explains in a curious fashion. It "just growed up," like Topsy in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," somehow or other:

> "Gradually, however, a change began [*sic*] to take place. From among the clergy of a city one began [*sic*] to rise to prominence above the others, and to be distinguished by the title of bishop." (P. 26.)

It will be seen that this explanation is not complimentary to the earliest bishops, whose prerogatives were established, it appears, partly by a subtle guile, partly by the strong hand —if not, indeed, by the "mailed fist." For he immediately adds:

> "From the city the bishop began [*sic*] by degrees to extend his power over the neighboring churches, which he generally found to be an easy matter, either because they had been planted, as missionary outposts, by the church of the city, or because they were too weak to resist." (P. 26.)

"Along with this change in the constitution of the Church went [*sic*]a corresponding change in the method of regarding both the clergy and the Church. From being a simple body of teachers and exhorters, *held in no special reverence*. . . ." (Pp. 26, 27. Italics mine.)

Please observe that the author's extended theological dissertation occurs, not in a History of the Presbyterian Church, but in a primer dealing with mediæval civilization. He continues (p. 27):

"The conception of the Church also began [*sic*] to change. It came [*sic*] to be regarded as a visible organized body, formal membership in which was necessary to salvation. . . . The doctrine of justification by faith was gradually [*sic*] lost sight of. . . ."

Just as the "prominent" elder gradually "came" to have power over others and emerged into a "bishop," who by fair means and foul extended his influence over suburban mission churches, so did some bishops, by similar processes, "come" to have power over others, and emerged into "metropolitans" (pp. 28, 29). Now for the Pope, who "comes" last in this evolutionary process:

"So also the belief gained ground [*sic*] that Peter had been designated by Christ as the head of the apostolic body, and along with it the belief, either true or false, that Peter had been Bishop of Rome, and had suffered martyrdom there."

All this sad degeneration of Christianity occurred, it is worthy of note, long, long before "Mediæval Civilization"—which is the author's theme—began to be:

"Christianity had already become [*sic*] corrupted, and almost lost to sight, before the influence of the Barbarian races began to be felt. . . . Had a pure and spiritual Christianity existed wherever it was professed throughout the Roman world, it would have needed no ecclesiastical monarch to have preserved it." (P. 41.)

I have (rather ostentatiously, I fear) placed many a *sic* after the author's evolutionary terminology. The gulf between the *terminus a quo* to the *terminus ad quem* he bridges, not in the common historical way of showing how, by whom, by what

means, or just when, an elder ceased to be an elder and "became" a bishop, or a bishop "became" a metropolitan, or a metropolitan "became" a pope, or "pure" Christianity "became" corrupted; or when, how, by what means, by whom, "the conception of the church 'began' to change and 'came' to be regarded as a visible organized body."

Apropos, a few thoughts of Newman's "Primitive Christianity" may prove acceptable: "Is a man to be allowed to say what he will, and bring no reasons for it? . . . If the Church system be not Apostolic, it must, some time or other, have been introduced, and then comes the question, when? We maintain that the known circumstances of the previous history are such as to preclude the possibility of any time being assigned, ever so close upon the Apostles, at which the Church system did not exist. . . . Let our Protestant friends go to what quarter of Christendom they will, let them hunt among heretics or schismatics, into Gnosticism outside the Church, or Arianism within it, still they will find no hint or vestige anywhere of that system which they are now pleased to call Scriptural. Granting that Catholicism be a corruption, is it possible that it should be a corruption springing up everywhere at once? Is it conceivable that at least no opponent should have retained any remnant of the system it supplanted? that no tradition of primitive purity should remain in any part of Christendom? that no protest, or controversy, should have been raised, as a monument against the victorious error?" I do not know that I have selected the most telling points from this fourth chapter; or that what follows from Chapter the Fifth should be considered the best which it has to offer:

"It is natural and becoming in us to make a brave struggle for life; but I do not think it will avail the Protestant who attempts it in the medium of ecclesiastical history. He will find himself in an element in which he cannot breathe. The problem before him is to draw a line between the periods of purity and alleged corruption, such, as to have all the Apostles on one side, and all the Fathers on the other; which may insinuate and meander through the dovetailings and inosculations of historical facts, and cut clean between St. John and St. Ignatius, St. Paul and St. Clement; to take up a position within the shelter of

the book of Acts, yet safe from the range of all other extant documents besides. And at any rate, whether he succeeds or not, so much he must grant, that if such a system of doctrine as he would now introduce ever existed in early times, it has been clean swept away as if by a deluge, suddenly, silently, and without memorial; by a deluge coming in a night, and utterly soaking, rotting, heaving up, and hurrying off every vestige of what it found in the Church, before cock-crowing. . . . Let him take which of his doctrines he will, his peculiar view of self-righteousness, of formality, of superstition; his notion of faith, or of spirituality in religious worship; his denial of the virtue of the sacraments, or of the ministerial commission, or of the visible Church; or his doctrine of the divine efficacy of the Scriptures as the one appointed instrument of religious teaching; and let him consider how far Antiquity, as it has come down to us, will countenance him in it. No; he must allow that the alleged deluge has done its work; yes, and has in turn disappeared itself; it has been swallowed up in the earth, mercilessly as itself was merciless. . . . Accordingly, Protestants had better let alone facts; they are wisest when they maintain that the Apostolic system of the Church was certainly lost; lost, when they know not, how they know not, without assignable instruments, but by a great revolution lost—of *that* there can be no doubt; and then challenge us to prove that it was not so."

Thus, and much more besides, Newman, who illustrates his contentions by a searching investigation into the history of the early Church. And this will suffice me in the matter of Mr. Adams and his mediæval Christianity.

V. Advice and Warning.

I have read with deep interest a certain "History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland," by L. F. Schmeckebier, Fellow in History, Johns Hopkins University. It forms Nos. 4 and 5 of Series XVII. of that University's "Studies in Historical and Political Science." (This is a tremendously long title,—as long almost as the extract I give from the book of one hundred and eighteen pages,—but it was important to give the full account of my source. The advice given in the extract comes from a seat of unsectarian learning and in a scholarly series.)

"Several valuable lessons might be deduced from the course of this party. In the first place, the Catholic Church should learn the lesson

that the American people will not tolerate any interference with the school system of the country, nor will they suffer any ecclesiastics to interfere in American politics." (P. 117.)

An amazing advice and warning, is it not? About one-fifth of "the American people" are Catholics. These cannot "interfere" except by their votes. If the time should arrive when these votes held the balance of power, is there any constitutional limitation forbidding an "interference" with the "school system of the country"? If not, then we are warned to expect mob violence, and the intolerance of civil as well as religious bigotry, and a flagrant denial of constitutional right to vote freely; we are warned to expect anarchy, if we use our constitutional right. This fellow's advice is an apology for every mob in the long and shameful history of mobs in educated and free America. Election rioters have not "tolerated" interference with what they esteemed the "interests" of their party in the past; and we are warned that such rioters—the scum of our cities and the disgrace of "the school system of the country"—shall be justified in overcoming the power of ballots by the easier expedient of bullets.

Presumption and Assumption run riot through this warning and advice. It *presumes* to lecture one-fifth of the American people on the propriety of foregoing their constitutional right to agitate and exploit a remedy for the grievance which bears heavily on their purses and consciences. It *assumes* that "the American people" constitute one unit and Roman Catholics another unit; that, in brief, we are here by toleration, and not by civil right. It concludes with an assertion so flatly contradicted by all the past as well as the present history of America as to be equivalent to a denial of the noonday sun,—"Nor will they ["the American people"] suffer any ecclesiastics to interfere in American politics." What an egregious misstatement for a professed historian to make! Not to go back to Know-nothingism for illustrations of ecclesiastics thus interfering, have we not the recent examples of the Rev. Mr. Burchard and the Rev. Mr. King? And the reverends of lesser fame filling pulpit and press at every election with

heated partisan appeals? A notable exception to all this sensational partisanship of clerical wire-pullers and political pamphleteers and Little Red School-House orators, stands the Catholic priesthood of America, calmly preaching to their flocks "the one thing necessary." Out of the innumerable instances of Protestant ministerial activity in politics I select the following one (*Catholic Standard and Times,* October 20, 1900):

"Non-Sectarianism spells Protestantism.

"Recently we showed by the terms of official reports from the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., that in Alaska grants of money and livestock are being systematically paid to Protestant missions in Alaska through the Rev. Sheldon Jackson. Alaska stands in relation to the United States in much the same position as the Indian Territories. Recently it was stated, publicly and emphatically, that the government had once for all made up its mind that no more money would be paid to contract schools of any denomination, and it has rigidly carried out its stern decree in regard to the unhappy Catholic Indians. As for those who are not Catholics, so far as their material interests are concerned, they are in no way affected by the decision. Practically the change of policy means the coercion of the Indians to accept the Protestant religion or starve. The methods by which this insidious scheme is being worked are graphically described in a number of letters now given to the world in the November issue of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart.* One of them tells how in a certain Agency nineteen public schools have been erected under cover of being non-sectarian. All these are simply Protestant schools, and open and undisguised Protestant teaching is given in some. This is exemplified in the fact that Bibles are being given in them by Protestant clergymen and the children are being compulsorily baptized in the Protestant faith, even against their protests. These flagrant violations both of the Constitution and the government's stern declarations against the sectarian principle are being perpetrated under circumstances which make the proselytism a thousand-fold more intolerable and galling. In the fact that it is the Indians' own money that is being utilized to paganize or Protestantize them is found the very cynicism of arbitrary wrong."

Mr. Schmeckebier offers advice to the other four-fifths as follows:

"On the other hand, the extreme to which this party [the Know-nothings] carried opposition to the Catholic Church should warn Protestants against political tricksters who make political capital out

of religious differences. Even to-day we see in our midst an organization which proposes to believe that America, with a great Protestant majority, is in danger from a power which cannot assert political rights in a nation where practically all are of the same faith. Such intolerance and fears were somewhat excusable two generations back; on the eve of the twentieth century they are entirely out of place." (P. 117.)

Our author is gentle towards the Know-nothings and their fears. Who was responsible for creating such unreasonable fears? Were they the result of a spiritual Protestant instinct? Or were they not rather the result of an ignorant, bigoted, political Protestant training and ministerial mixing in American politics?

Hear some of his philosophy: "If the foreigners had kept out of politics, all this talk of foreign domination would probably have fallen flat" (p. 50). Doubtless. But why should they generously forego such a constitutional privilege? Why should they submit to "taxation without representation"? If the American colonists used the most dangerous expedient of *rebellion* to resist such a principle, why should any citizens of the republic quietly and voluntarily submit to it? Where is our philosophy of history? Our author is speaking of the German immigrants, who sought, wholly by constitutional means, to effect a radical change in American government. Were they not as justly entitled to use such means (no matter how radical may have been their designs) as the Abolitionists and Republicans of half a century ago who strove, sometimes by ballot, sometimes by bloodshed, to effect a radical change in the constitution? Of these German immigrants our author is pleased to remark that "they began to interfere in local politics through organizations of their own" (p. 51). "Interfere," quotha! INTERFERE! Did one ever hear such an expression from the lips of a philosophical historian of American politics? And is this to be the justification, or a part of the justification, of an oath-bound, dark-lantern collection of political thugs?

I presume our author tries to be fair. He calls attention to the good services rendered to America by Catholics, and disapproves the excesses of the Know-nothings.

But in showing the provocation offered by "foreigners" (whether German socialists or Irish Catholics) to the "native Americans," he forgets that the provocation thus offered serves no more as a palliation for the excesses or even the milder methods of Know-nothings than does the provocation offered by an inoffensive farmer to a mad bull in his field palliate the personal injuries resulting therefrom. It is, indeed, a wise course to warn the farmer that the mad bull is there; but we should waste no sympathy on the bull.

I conclude this paper with an extract appropriate to the question of "the American school" (from the *Catholic Standard and Times,* October 27, 1900):

"The Protestant (?) Public Schools.

"(From the *American Israelite.*)

"'A Catholic lady complained bitterly against a Teachers' Employment Agency because she could get no position in a public school on account of her religion. But why should she complain? Does any one suppose for a moment that Catholic directors would employ a Protestant to teach Catholic children? Not a bit of it. Catholics are too selfish for that, and yet they would love to have the privilege of teaching the children of other people who have as little use for Catholicism as the Catholics can possibly have for other religions.'

"The above, from a Protestant religious journal, is inspired by a wide-spread presumption that the public schools are Protestant institutions. No doubt its author, and many like him, would be only too glad to make them such, and thereby inculcate into the minds of the young only good Protestant doctrines."

Is there no "provocation" here? Are we "a Protestant nation"?

H. T. Henry.

Overbrook Seminary.

TWO LETTERS

FROM

RIGHT REV. JOHN CHEVERUS,

Late Bishop of Boston,

TO

JEAN MARIE MAXIMILIEN DE VERNOU,

Marquis de Bonneüil, etc.*

I.

Boston, April 21st, 1823.

My dear Son,—Your last is still that of December 25th. I answered it March 21st, and I wrote to you four days ago by the way of Newbury Port. I am rather late in receiving the still fresh news, and learning that your dear health is re-established, that the mother, the newly born, and his sisters are all doing well.

The French newspapers have already perhaps acquainted you with my nomination by the King to the See of Montauban. I believe that I shall have to refuse. It is really impossible to tear myself away from here, and I could not possibly do so without much harm to religion. I shall re-

---

* The two letters of Bishop Cheverus have been translated from the French by Rev Joseph P. Monville, of the Committee of Historical Research.

From reference to Reuss's "Biographical Cyclopædia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States" I learn that Right Rev. John Louis Anne Magdalen Lefebre de Cheverus, consecrated bishop of Boston, November 1, 1810, was transferred to France as bishop of Montauban, January 15, 1823; thence promoted as archbishop of Bordeaux, July 30, 1826, where he was raised to the Cardinalate, February 1, 1836.

Of Mons. de Vernou I have ascertained the following incident in his life from kinsmen now in the United States: At Paris, when a mere lad, during the French Revolution, he, with some six hundred other "suspects," was thrown into prison, whence all were carried to the guillotine but himself and one other boy, who were *too young* to legally guillotine. "He often spoke to me of those times [thus my informant], and how he came to this country; and of the Bishop of Boston (where he went to reside), who, however was not related to him, but who treated him with the greatest kindness. . . . His daughter has a trunk-full of letters from the Bishop of Boston, and it was from her that the two (now published here) came."—T. C. M., from Letter of Dr. Walter F. Atlee, May 20, 1901.

main here, and I hope to be pardoned in France, where many others may replace me, as well in Montauban.

Mrs. and Miss Valerais leave for France the first of May. The estimable Walley family is in good health. The dear and amiable Eliza is about to start a school with Miss Stebbins. The head of the family needs energy and is embarrassed. Tom has gone to St. Thomas, Charles and Alfred are apprenticed with merchants, but do not earn enough even to pay their board. I took Sam to College in Montreal last summer. Charlotte is in the city nearly three weeks. Every one speaks of her beauty, but there is no question of marriage for her nor for her sister. Anne is a large girl; the rest of the family are well; your godchild Marion is always amiable, but not pretty as she promised to be. There is talk of marrying good Nancy Winchester with a widower, rich enough and not too old. Mrs. and Miss Banry are in the city, and Alfred Banry is minister at Newtown near here.

Good Captain Pratt will bring you this. I would like very much to accompany him, if it were possible. Dear sister Walley is low in spirits; she would like to take boarders, at least children, this summer to help out the family. What a worthy and respectable woman she is!

Mr. Ryan is here just now, Mr. Byrne joins with him in sending you his respects.

Good-bye, dear son, may the Lord grant you health.

Embracing you,

+ John.

II.

Aboard the "Paris," August 30th, 1823.

My dear Son,—I write to you in the Channel about fifty leagues from Havre, where I hope to find some way to reach Guadaloupe. I sailed from New York the 1st, leaving

a letter there for you. It shall have apprised you, if you have received it, that my refusal would not be accepted, and the Grand Almoner, wrote to me in the name of his Majesty, that I would incur *his displeasure* if, against *his express wish,* I did not come to France.

I shall be there soon, if the wind is favorable, which has not been the case for more than half our voyage.

What trials I was obliged to undergo at Boston! What scenes of desolation!

Mrs. and Miss Duplessis are on board with me. They are going to Rennes, where they have claims to settle. They propose, after having arranged their affairs, to come and remain at Montauban. Shall I have the good fortune to see there my children of Guadaloupe? These ladies wish to be kindly remembered to you.

I have given the fifty dollars to Mrs. Walley, but I said nothing about the future. Mr. Taylor, my vicar-general at Boston, will receive your dividends and hold them for your order. He is my Procurator, and as adviser in temporal affairs he has an honest and intelligent lawyer, Mr. J. P. Cooke. Mr. Taylor has Dividends for you from October, $27.75; and each quarter, until 1825, he will receive $75.25; you will be repaid in January 1825, but you may be able to place your $4300 in new bonds. The interest will probably not be more than five per cent.

I beg you, my dear son, to see at Pointe-à-Pitre, the executors of Mr. Renard. I have left their letter with my Procurator, and I have forgotten their name. Renard left me one thousand dollars; they were not for me; a letter written before his death, that they sent to me, told me how to use it. It is a confidential matter, the executors themselves do not even know of it. The legacy by the will brings a gift to me. Mr. Taylor knows where to send this amount, and the person to whom it is to be sent has received due instructions, and will attend to it. Tell these gentlemen to

send this amount to the Rev. William Taylor, who is my Procurator, and who will give them whatever receipts they may desire.

The address of Mr. Taylor is: The Rev. William Taylor, Rector of the Church of Holy Cross, Boston. Mine shall be, in the future, the Bishop of Montauban, at Montauban. I fear, nevertheless, my dear son, that the good "Papa" of Boston will make a miserable Bishop in France.

My people are distracted. They were distressed at my refusal. My departure from Boston was looked upon as a public calamity.

You know, my dear son, that an adopted family may become even dearer than the one to which we are united by blood.

I shall write to you from Paris and again from Montauban. I shall arrange my affairs in Havre, so that our correspondence may be uninterrupted.

Embracing you,

+ John.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE PHILIPPINE ARCHIPELAGO.* A collection of geographical, statistical, chronological, and scientific data, relating to the Philippine Islands, collected from former works, or obtained by the personal observation and study of Fathers of the Mission of the Society of Jesus in the islands. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.

This work consists of two volumes in large octavo of, respectively, seven hundred and eight and four hundred and seventy pages, containing nearly four hundred plates and one illustration in colors. Besides, there is an atlas in folio containing thirty maps, executed, under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the Observatory at Manila, by native Filipino draughtsmen. The atlas has been adopted by the United States Geodetic and Coast Survey as the basis for the geographic and hydrographic study of the islands by the United States government.

The whole work has been spoken of by the Assistant Secretary of State as the Spanish Appendix of the report of the Philippine Commission. It was written by the Jesuits in charge of the observatory at Manila because when the first Philippine Commission began its labors in the island they found the Jesuit Fathers in possession of a lot of priceless information that had been collected from books and by personal observation during a long period of years. Ultimately any one who desires authentic information as to present conditions in the Archipelago, its resources, the character of the people, and the recent state of science therein must consult this work. It is eminently complete and constitutes a

* El Archipiélago Filipino, Coleccion de Datos Geográficos, Estadísticos Cronológicos y Científicos, Relativos al Mismo, Entresecados de Anteriores Obras ú Obtenidos car la Propia Observación y Estudio por Algunos Padres de la Misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Estas Islas. Washington: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1900.

magnificent answer, providential in its opportuneness, to those who fail to appreciate the work that the religious orders have been doing in the Philippines.

The personal reasons for the publication of the book, as stated by Father Algué in the preface, relate that,—

"We were moved [such are his words] to write the work, above all, by the love we bear the country itself. We wished the true state of affairs in the islands to be better known and be judged at its real value. We were further induced to write by our love for Spain. History shows, and the world will recognize it very clearly some day, that Spain has done a great good to the Philippine Islands. The benefits conferred have not been, we confess, without a mixture of disadvantages. The good has, however, far outweighed the evil and our gratitude cannot but be frank and outspoken. A still further reason for the writing of the work was the circumstance that because of existing conditions in the Philippines all the Jesuit missionaries in the Archipelago were united together in Manila. This made it not only possible, but temptingly easy, to undertake the work, because men were gathered together who had personal information from all parts of the islands. During our reunion we were eminently desirous of undertaking a work that would be at once of public utility to the country and a mark of our feelings towards the new government which since its installation in Manila has been extremely kind to the Mission of the Society of Jesus, and has conferred on the Jesuit establishments in the capital not less consideration and generous assistance than did the government of Spain before the change of *régime*."

The Jesuits' gratitude has been nobly expressed in a book that honors them and their benefactors. These volumes will undoubtedly and deservedly take the place of acknowledged authority in Philippine affairs.

Other reviews of the work have spoken mainly of the scientific aspects of matters Philippine. It seems but proper that the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society should especially discuss the points of historical interest that the work contains. A new and very large field for the Catholic

historian of America has been opened up by our acquisition of the Philippines. Much of the history of the country is involved in the history of the religious orders that have been at work in the islands under whose care civilization and Christianity have been introduced. While the natives of the country colonized by the great commercial peoples have melted away before the fierce sun of a civilization too advanced for them, the Filipinos have in large numbers been raised out of their pristine barbarism and yet have continued to increase in numbers. The attempt has not been made to complete the full cycle of the evolution of civilization in a generation or two. The work of uplifting has been done gradually. Many things can be misunderstood in the process. Many abuses seem to have existed without good reason. The result, when we think of the practically total disappearance of the Indian in America, of the Maori in Australia, and the decline in numbers of the Sandwich Islanders, cannot but impress us with the idea that while there are ways and ways of introducing civilization, the only true one is that which uplifts the native race and does not merely wipe it out to replace it by the victorious Caucasian.

Two very interesting historical questions are involved in the history of the inhabitants of the Philippines as we find them at present. The first concerns the races of which the people are composed and the manner of their emigration to the islands. The basis of the population of the island is undoubtedly the negritos who came originally from the African continent. The Philippine Islands were populated from other islands, especially from New Guinea, to which the black race first came. Ethnologists, especially those who base their opinion upon anatomical cranial peculiarities have disputed this. Even Virchow for a while seemed to be of the opinion that the basic race was not the black race. Gradually, however, the view has gained ground that the negritos of the Archipelagos are true negroes.

After the black race the most important element of the population and the most influential factor in the production of mixed races is the Malay race, which came principally from

the other islands of the Indian ocean and from the Peninsula of Farther India. The Malay elements in the population are very difficult to determine, because the race is found almost nowhere in a state of purity. The Mongolians from China constitute a third important element of the native Filipino population.

These elements are in certain parts of the islands so inextricably intermingled that it is difficult to recognize the component races.

A fourth and very interesting element of the population is composed of the so-called "Moros," or Moors. These are a mercantile people, who came to the islands some time before their discovery by Magellan, though it is hard to decide just when. They brought with them the Mohammedan religion, succeeded in scattering it rather widely among the people, and obtained positions of influence in all the islands to which they gained entrance.

This question of the coming of the Moros, or Moors, to the island; their work of proselytization, the commercial instincts that led them, and the length of time it took them to acquire their influence constitutes the second of the interesting historical questions in Philippine affairs.

The religious history of the islands after the introduction of Christianity is, of course, of extreme interest. It cannot be written, nor be properly judged from the stand-point of the outsider. How much religion has done to raise the Philippine people can best be appreciated perhaps by realizing how much church architecture has meant for the development of æsthetical feelings among the people. In this, as in the work of the Church in the Middle Ages in Europe, there has undoubtedly been a great and powerful, though silent and easily negligible, power in action. Some of what this has meant can be appreciated from the illustration of the present work, which pictures churches in various parts of the Archipelago.

Thirty years ago Jules Ferry said that Germany by annexing Alsace and Lorraine had not acquired new territory, but merely an infecting sore on its body politic. How well the Germans have healed that sore the world knows well. It

would seem that the United States, in the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, is put very much in the same case. Let us hope that the result will be as happy. We have not succeeded in solving the race problem that was forced on us by the result of the Civil War. Only now, after thirty-five years, are we beginning to understand and to recognize generally the terms of that problem. In the Philippines not one, but a series of new race problems have been acquired. The question of races of lower degree, in contact with civilization, is the Sphinx puzzle of modern culture. What shall become of the Filipinos under United States protection is a mystery. The first element, of course, is the question of education. The missionaries who know the natives well sum up present conditions as to the possibilities in intellectual attainments of the natives and their education as follows:

"Speaking in general, it is conceded that the Filipino race is inferior intellectually to the European races. This does not prevent native Filipinos, however, from demonstrating greater aptitude for certain work and especially for manual occupations in which the active use of the intelligence is very little required. They are, for example, usually very good penmen, good wood-carvers, engravers, and the like. In such occupations, given equal instruction, they surpass Europeans. It must be recognized, moreover, that they are very clever at the reproduction, putting together, imitation, modification, accommodation, and even the invention of apparatus, instruments, and machines for definite purposes. Duly instructed, many of them become and have become skilful mechanics. In the use of their hands they easily excel foreigners who come in contact with them.

"In the fine arts they are wanting in genius, inspiration, and power of conception. Usually, too, they lack sentiment and good taste. But they reproduce and copy, with great fidelity and exactness, anything beautiful which they see. In music and in poetry their defects are not so noticeable. They possess a certain force and variety of expression, which is missed entirely in their painting and sculpture. It must be remembered that in strictly scientific and abstract knowledge there

have occurred among the native Filipinos some minds far above the general average of humanity. In all the classes of our municipal Athenæum certain of the natives have frequently distinguished themselves in purely intellectual work even in competition with Spanish fellow-students. The same thing is true in other institutions of learning here in Manila. In all the professions, and even in the faculties of the various educational institutions, there have always been native Filipinos and Indians of pure race who have obtained distinguished positions and merited renown by their intellectual attainments."

How closely the natives resemble our own negroes can readily be seen from this delineation of their characters. Our failure with the negro so far should make government wary of anything but practical suggestions as to technical training if the Filipino is not to be uplifted and not merely spoiled by useless faddism in education.

It is a curious coincidence that the missionaries should have independently come to the same conclusions as to the education of the Filipinos that have been reached by educators in the South, and particularly of the negro race, who best know the conditions. It is the best guarantee of their clearness of vision and lucidity of reasoning in a great practical problem.

The writer on Ethnology in the work says,—

"We believe that, to solve the problem of the education of the Philippine people, the following opinions will be found of practical service:

"No department of knowledge, however, lofty, sublime, or abstract it may be, should be considered as above the native Filipinos. The mere question of race must not be allowed to decrease the opportunity the native may have for education, since experience shows that aptitude for the very highest studies is not lacking, at least among chosen members of the race.

"It is of the greatest importance to arouse and develop special attention in agriculture, in the manual arts, and to encourage the acquisition of the technical knowledge necessary for the advance and improvement of these methods of gaining

a livelihood. Agricultural and technical schools should be established at various well-chosen points of the Archipelago, and model workshops, especially for the carving and engraving arts, should be fitted up. If technical instruction can be obtained without much expense there is no doubt that the Filipinos will take advantage of it and that the results will very soon be perceived."

Jas. J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D.



VERY REV. JOHN F. FIERENS, V.G.
Portland, Ore. Died August 20, 1893.



RT. REV. MONSIG. EDWARD JOOS, D.D.

Detroit, Mich. Born April 9, 1825; ordained June 17, 1848; died May 18, 1901.



REV. GEORGE AUGUSTUS MEAGHER, O.S.A.

Born January 23, 1821; ordained December 17, 1843; died April 7, 1881.



REV. HECTOR GLACKMEYER, S.J.
Born September 29, 1827; died May 7, 1881.



VERY REV. EDWARD DAEMS, O.S.C.

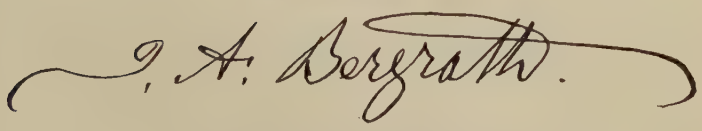
Green Bay, Wis. Ordained September 21, 1850; died February 12, 1879.



REV. PETER M. CARBON.

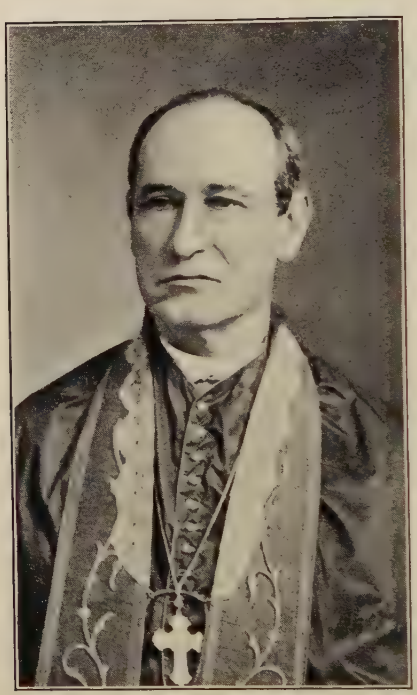
Philadelphia, Pa. Born 1821; ordained January 6, 1849.





REV. INNOCENT A. BERGRATH.

Born November 25, 1836; ordained April 2, 1850; died September 25, 1881.



✝ D. Manucy D.D.

RT. REV. DOMINIC MANUCY, D.D.

First Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, Texas. Born December 20, 1823; ordained August 15, 1850; consecrated December 8, 1874; died December 4, 1885.

NOTE.—By error the name of Bishop Manucy was attached to our picture of His Eminence, Cardinal Manning (page 114).



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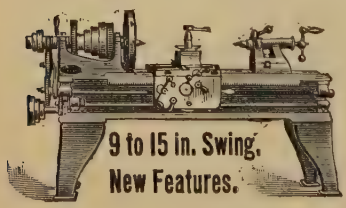
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SOME MEMOIRS

OF

OUR LADY'S SHRINE

AT CHESTNUT HILL, PA.

A.D. 1855—1900.

WITH REMINISCENCES OF STILL EARLIER DAYS

BY REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S.A.

(CONTINUED.)

HERE a word or so may be given to the *personnel* of the Doctor's assistants at St. Mary's, in succession to Fathers Mullen and Harnett, whose names have already been encountered more than once in these pages, especially the latter's, who was a gentle-tempered, warm-hearted man, a clear and forceful speaker, an excellent classicist, and Christian scholar. In 1867, in lieu of Fr. Harnett transferred to Lawrence, in northeastern Massachusetts, where his brotherhood were in charge of a far-reaching mission, came an energetic, young priest lately on service in New York, who by the marked kindliness of his ways and readiness for hard work, soon endeared himself to the people of St. Mary's.

Along with many sympathetic gifts of mind and heart, Fr. Darragh, it is remembered, displayed also in remarkable way the fashion, at no time distasteful however, of speaking out his mind in plain and forceful terms, with little or no regard to the sensibilities, views, or fancies, of his hearers. He was very plain-spoken, very zealous, very

attentive in the discharge of his work, wherefore he was liked by all St. Mary's, especially for his fair dealing on all occasions.

Through the skilful management of this ecclesiastic in his two years' stay at the Hill, who rather impetuous by temperament yet displayed considerable diplomacy in bringing the Doctor round to his views, many improvements were carried out in the mission. Under his eye was held the first "fair" at the Hill—of any magnitude at least, in the old railroad "dépôt" on the Bethlehem pike, with the proceeds whereof the church-tower was re-roofed, a gilded cross in lieu of the wooden one raised on its summit, and a bell—the first hung in St. Mary's tower, all at a cost of 800 dollars.* This bell—an instrument of 1,600 pounds in weight, cast by Jones of New York, rang the church-hours for only seven years—up to 1876, when because of a flaw in it that was spreading, it was recast at a cost of $230, and re-blessed to the honor of God and our Lady of Consolation on Sunday, July 2, 1876, by the late venerable Augustinian prelate Bishop Galberry, of Hartford, the third incumbent of that see.†

Under the same missionary other "fairs" were held at the Hill—devices of the most ancient as well as popular character for gathering money through the enthusiasm and interest of the people at large,—which together with an occasional concert and pic-nic were the usual means employed by St. Mary's to raise funds for mission improvements,—one of them, the neat iron-fence (costing $200) and hedge that bound the avenue side of the church-lot. By Father Darragh too was opened the first circulating

---

* The *Angelus* bell was first heard at the Hill, rung out from St. Mary's tower, on Thursday, Lady Day, March 25, 1875, during the first year's incumbency of Rector McEvoy.

† This second bell (of St. Mary's) a hundred pounds heavier than its predecessor, was hung in the tower the day after its blessing,—eve of the "Fourth" (1876),—and at midnight of that same festival pealed forth the opening of the first Centennial year of the United States of America.

library at St. Mary's, with books housed in the south vestry; and through his success in gathering the money needed for its purchase, something over $300—was the holy-water stoup of marble, chiselled by Vito Viti, of Philadelphia, set up at the rear of the pews. It was doubtless in sequence of this bustling, ever active temperament of Father Darragh's, that ensued his illness of eighteen years, whence relief was vouchsafed only with death. In one of his numerous "fairs" at the Hill, at the old railroad station, on an intensely hot day in July, in 1869, subsequent to copious draughts of ice-water, this good missionary first fell ill from a pain at the base of the brain, followed by some spinal ailment like paralysis, that refusing to yield to even the best of professional treatment soon unfitted him for active ministry in the priesthood, wherefore constrained in 1871, to give up his charge as assistant to the Doctor he was located first at St. Augustine's in town, then at Villanova—mother-house of his brethren, where he passed to his reward on Friday, January 7, 1887.*

But the "Hermitage" was shortly to lose its venerable priestly and scholarly incumbent. Some six months or so before his demise,—this was in December, 1874,—Doctor Moriarty resigning his twenty years' rectorship of Our Lady at the Hill was transferred the following January by the chief of his order to Villanova, where with one exception (alluded to further on) he passed the remaining term of his earthly career within its convent-walls in edification of his brethren.† The exception was his migration temporarily to town during the early spring of '75 for his last

* Rev. James Alexander Darragh was born in New York City, November 19, 1838; educated at Villanova, where he entered the Order in 1856; was ordained to the priesthood May 19, 1861. In the following year he was appointed to the care of some of the New York missions in charge of his Order,—Cambridge, Hoosick Falls, and Salem; then, in 1865, to Schaghticoke and Mechanicville, whence he was transferred to Chestnut Hill.

† At the Hermitage the last registration by the Doctor (though the entry of it was penned by another) in the sacramental books of St. Mary's is a marriage witnessed by him July 18, 1874; his last baptism the year previous, July 22 (1873); while his last autographic signature—a marriage—is dated August 15, 1867.

appearance in public, when with locks whitened through age,—the Doctor was in his seventieth year,—frame crippled with rheumatism, he left Villanova in the Lent of that year, when every step almost cost him unspeakable agony, to deliver his second course of lectures in refutation of the so-called English historian Froude, who Oxford professor though he was, had yet essayed to delude the intellectual world with historical principles as unscientific in character, as undoubtedly un-Christian and unpatriotic in tone.

On this occasion in defence of his native land the Doctor delivered three lectures in the Academy of Music, the last of them on Wednesday, St. Patrick's night, in aid (as oftentimes had been his charitable custom) of the House of the Good Shepherd.*

At Villanova albeit aged, infirm, badly crippled with disease, the Doctor was yet one of the earliest risers for five o'clock prayers in community chapel, whence after Mass, which he said daily, he retired to his room for study, reading, or exercises, of private devotion, meeting the community only at meals, or when summoned to the chapter-house.

Though as only learned later his malady must have filled him with indescribable suffering, he was the most uncomplaining of men, never betraying, save maybe by some spasmodic twitch, or tightening of the lips, the pains of his physical martyrdom.

An episode, (whereof the writer himself was witness,) during the closing days on earth of our hero-priest, denotive of his well-trained spirit of self-control, who Moses-like had cast his lot in the hey-day of his career in the field of polemics rather than the paths of peace, may serve as finale in this digression on the Doctor. A few days before his death, when gravely ill, no longer able to help himself—in his many years of physical pain and discomfort at the

* Three years previous (in 1872) the Doctor had given in Horticultural Hall his first series of lectures—five in number—against Mr. Froude.

Hill, the Doctor rarely allowed any one even to dress his limbs—his legs were eaten by ulcers,—preferring always, nay insisting, though others were ready even anxious to serve him, to perform this ministerial act himself, now however yielding to necessity, at the earnest and oft-repeated entreaties of his brethren, the house-prior especially, he assented to have the late Doctor Paulding, of King of Prussia, a physician of undoubted skill, famed too far beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania, summoned to attend his case.

During the examination of his aged bed-ridden patient, this physician having unbandaged the Doctor's limbs, wherein (to his horror) he beheld ulcers inches long and broad, drains each of them of the vitality of their helpless victim, turning almost savagely in his indignation that limbs so diseased had (as manifest) been left so long undressed, he demanded of the care-takers at the Doctor's bed-side "why had they left him so long uncared for?" Whereupon being apprised that "the Doctor would let no one dress his sores, to even touch him," the physician exclaimed, "My God, what this man must have suffered!" Turning then to the Doctor, "How," queried our disciple of Esculapius (astounded at the stricken hero's condition,) "how have you managed to bear these pains?" And well does the writer recall the almost dramatic scene around that sick-bed, when slowly, with apparent effort, pointing to the Crucifix at his side, the noble-souled venerable Christian priest with the faintest shadow of smile across his hitherto tightly closed lips replied simply to his questioner, "It was This."

Fitting climax of the believer's agony, in his sufferings to turn his sympathetic soul to the contemplation of the God suffering on Calvary rather than self!

Shortly after having received all the consolations of Holy Church at the hands of Subprior Fleming, on Saturday, July 10, 1875, a few minutes before five in the afternoon,

Doctor Moriarty, aged seventy-one, was gathered to his fathers; and on the following Wednesday in the presence of countless mourners his remains were given befitting sepulture in the tomb at St. Augustine's in Philadelphia, where rest the ashes of other brethren of the Order one-time ministers at that church. At the solemn exequies at the bier of Doctor Moriarty, three prelates of lofty rank assisted—Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia, who gave the remains final absolution; Bishop Quinlan, of Mobile, the preacher; and Bishop Becker, of Wilmington, witness.*

On the retirement of Fr. Darragh from service his place as assistant to Dr. Moriarty was entrusted to Fr. McEvoy, a newly ordained priest (from Villanova,) who after four years succeeded that venerable and now aged scholar and churchman as rector of St. Mary's.†

Among other improvements in the spiritual as well as material lines of this mission, some of them already referred to, due to the activeness of this young ecclesiastic, was the establishment by him of what we may term the first distinctly Catholic school on the Hill.

Yet, in accordance with the maxim, not always, however, lived up to by annalists or panegyrists,—that "one's loyalty to his guild should never outstrip the truth,"—an observation is due here that years before the opening of St. Mary's schools, in fact almost from the day of their coming to "Monticello," the sisters at the earnest solicitation of St. Mary's clergy, besides founding an academy for their resident pupils at the Mount, established also a mission-school for day scholars of the parish in one of their convent build-

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* In the *Catholic Record* of Philadelphia (ix. 321–346), a few months after the death of Doctor Moriarty, the writer published a brief review of his life, which apart from some ruggedness in style will yet repay the reader who may be desirous of learning of the chief epochs in that missionary's career.

By error on page 139 of this volume of RECORDS the birth year of Doctor Moriarty is given as "1804." He was born on July 4, 1805.

† In Appendix F will be found further details relating to the four assistants of Doctor Moriarty.

ings,—the old tenant, or farm, house (yet standing) just across from the academy grounds on Perkiomen pike.

Hither every morning for class in Christian science and such rudimentaries, as are contained in "the three Rs," flocked the children of near-by families.

The academy archives (at Mount St. Joseph,) wherefrom we have drawn more than once for our knowledge of this Wissahickon school, tell us that

"the day school for the children of the neighborhood was opened in May, 1862, sometime prior to the 19th of that month, the precise day not having been recorded; the first pupils enrolled were twelve or so in number—boys and girls; among them Thomas and Alice Martin, children of the Mrs. Martin (named before,) first benefactress of the sisterhood at Chestnut Hill."

But the roads leading to this centre of learning down in the valley were long especially for such of the youthful searchers for truth as lived up on the crowded Hill (and when, pray, weren't the paths to knowledge hard to the student?) besides being some at least of them not easy to travel even in the best of seasons. Hence a school near the church in the fair centre of the mission, at least the built-up part of it, an institution sure too of welcome by the townsfolk, was eminently desirable, nay, even of prime necessity for the young aspirants to wisdom.

This was in 1876. Two years later in '78, with the view of securing land enough for a school site, though the building of the school itself was as yet but in dim perspective, Fr. McEvoy on August 30 of that year purchased from his neighbors Alfred M. and Hannah E. Collins for the sum of $2,585 the lot adjoining the church on the north, (whereon now stands Parish Hall,) having a frontage (on the avenue) of sixty-two feet and one-half inch, and a depth of two hundred and forty feet and five inches.*

* For the safeguarding of neighbors from nuisances the following cautions are carefully set down in the deed, wherein albeit hedged amid considerable legal verbiage they forbid substantially as follows, that on the lot there should be "no bone-boiling, or glue-factory; no slaughter-house, or tavern; no lager-bier saloon, or liquor-store."

But for one reason or other, chiefly want of means, the projected school-house, not to be realized during his term of office, nor as events turned out for ten years after, was left to his successor to build.*

Three years after his purchase of the school-lot, in 1881, Fr. McEvoy in part fulfilment of his scheme, had St. Mary's enlarged on plans of Edwin F. Durang,—a much needed improvement in view of the increase growing every year of worshippers especially in summer, by the addition of a transept corresponding in style to the nave, running back to the rear line of the church-lot, seventy-three feet wide and twenty-seven deep, with a basement besides of similar dimensions suited for school purposes, and used therefor till Parish Hall was built (in 1888,) since when it has served as week-day chapel for Mass and evening-prayers for community and people.†

In this basement on Monday, September 5, 1881, classes were opened by the sisters, who coming thither each morning for school-work return at the close of day to their convent home at the foot of the Hill.

By the 18th of the same month the muster-roll of St. Mary's school showed a hundred and ten pupils in charge.‡

With this enlargement of St. Mary's the church both outside and in may truly be said to have been greatly embellished. At either end of the transept are sacristies and vesting-rooms for clergy and altar-boys. While the sanctuary itself, as may be supposed, was adorned not only with new main altar in tasteful Gothic design, but with shrine-altars to

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* In 1888 the neat building of stone on Chestnut Avenue known as "St. Mary's Hall," so reads the title of it, was reared by Rector McShane, who, toiling in the vineyard as had his forerunners in the mission, managed not only to keep up the organization of the Faithful in the parish but to strengthen the energies of St. Mary's people and develop in them much spirit for good.

† From a Financial Report published by Rector McShane, in 1893, I find that the sum of $517 was expended "on flooring and fitting basement chapel."

‡ At this present writing the number of scholars at St. Mary's is two hundred and thirty,—120 boys, 110 girls.

the Blessed Virgin and Holy Saint Joseph at its wings. While stained-glass was fitted in the windows—one in memory of the Doctor; statues on each of the side-altars, four others aloft in the chancel, and on the nave walls near the sanctuary two paintings in oil by the Roman artist Tito Troja, of a "Good Shepherd" and the "Vision of Our Lord to the holy penitent Saint, Mary Magdalen".*

At the same time (with the restoration of St. Mary's) with the view of giving ampler quarters to the clergy in residence, the gap between presbytery and kitchen was filled in with a building corresponding in style and material to the other two, whereby much needed space upstairs and down was opened to the little community.†

In '82, after eleven years' mission-work at the Hill, Father McEvoy, now transferred to a new field for his activity—to St. Mary's at Lawrence, in Massachusetts,‡ was succeeded as rector in residence by Rev. Francis J. McShane, by whom were carried into effect other plans tending (as had his predecessors') towards the upbuilding of the Faithful on temporal as well as on spiritual lines.

Under Father McShane the church societies (planted by his fore-runners) at St. Mary's,— never-failing instruments for good, had grafted on them germs (as it were) of fresh life.

During the rectorship of the Doctor had been established in Our Lady's mission a "Rosary Society"; "The Moriarty Beneficial Society of Chestnut Hill", (incorporated on June

---

* In his *Report* to the congregation (published January 1, 1882) Rector McEvoy states that ground for the transept was broken on March 24, 1880, and Mass first said at the new high altar on Christmas Day following.

While the cost of all these improvements—of building, art-work, covering the old shingle roof with slate, and the purchase of the school-lot—amounted (according to the same *Report*) to $20,368.42.

† With this addition to St. Mary's the dimensions of the church are now as follows: length (including the tower), one hundred and thirty-one feet; without the tower, one hundred and twelve; the transept (as said) being seventy-three feet wide and twenty-seven deep.

‡ In July, 1882, Rev. C. A. McEvoy was chosen superior of his province.

6, 1870,)* whereof a hundred and eighty members were present, I have been told, at the exequies of their venerable patron and founder at St. Augustine's, on Wednesday, July 14, 1875;)† and the "Sacred Heart Total Abstinence Society", founded about 1873, which though bearing the names of eighty members on its lists, on account of the too heavy drains on its treasury (through illnesses and deaths) was constrained to dissolve nine years later, in 1882.

While under Father McEvoy were formed the following guilds: the "Sacred Heart Society" about 1874;‡ "The Father McEvoy Beneficial Society of Chestnut Hill", incorporated April 5, 1879, with Arthur Rodgers, president, and twenty-seven charter-members; and a "Total Abstinence Beneficial Society" founded in the spring of 1884 for women.

But fateful alike seems to have been the ending of several of these Total Abstinence guilds, that had been re-founded in the '70s through the energy chiefly of two Philadelphians, the late John H. Campbell and Philip A. Nolan, enthusiasts both of them in the temperance movement, who soon got through experience another proof,—had any been needed,—that apart from some singular, or (may we not better say?) special vocation and blessing of the Most High, the Christian sense that finds it not hard to live up to the laws of God and Holy Church, rarely is heroic—strong-willed—enough to maintain guilds whereof the leading principle aims merely at self-denial in matters too that of themselves

* The *Constitution and By-Laws* of this society (printed in 1870) name fifty-four members, among them Edward McCloskey as president (still living at Flourtown). In January, 1898, this society disbanded with forty-seven members on its rolls.

† From information from James Weir, late secretary of the society.

‡ Following the rise of this new devotion in the United States, which charming the Catholic heart resulted in the creation of so many confraternities of the Sacred Heart of Our Lord, Chestnut Hill parish and convent were formally dedicated to the Divine Heart on Sunday, October 19, 1873, Doctor Moriarty being consecrator of the parish in the morning, Rev. Doctor Neno (of Villanova) of the convent in the afternoon, while the writer of these lines preached on both occasions.

We may add that on the above day the Augustinian head-mission at Villanova was consecrated too to the same Sacred Heart, with Commissary-General Galberry as celebrant.

are harmless. Wherefore in order to forestall imminent decay, many of these temperance societies changing themselves into insurance companies managed to thrive by harnessing Mammon with Temperance,—a not unholy alliance, however,—where formerly through total abstinence alone they soon found their popularity waning.

While the foregoing societies (at the Hill) we may observe, were distinctly church-guilds, the brotherhoods created in a measure by Father McShane tended rather to round out more fully the social Catholic organization of St. Mary's, and by their strength of union develop in it more strongly the moral character of their adepts. Due to the interest of this latter-named churchman, was the institution of these other missionary bands: "Our Mother of Consolation Cadets", (for youths,) an affiliation of the Total Abstinence Society, founded in January, 1887; the "Pious Union of Our Lady of Good Counsel," gathered on Her feast-day, April 26, 1888, with some two hundred members; an "Altar Society" established at Easter, 1893, with as many more adherents; and the "Confraternity of Sts. Augustine and Monica," otherwise the Confraternity of the Cincture, or Girdle, of Our Lady,—one of the many titles of Our Lady, so dear to Augustinian heart, wherein honor has been paid to the Holy Mother of God.

Some years ago (we may add) in a booklet of poems, every one of them a lyric of refined taste, our Philadelphia poetess, who (in our opinion) seems to sing sweetest when uplifted to heaven she essays to paint the glories and beauties of the abode of the blessed, has therein interwoven in a few stanzas the chief titles of Our Lady,—some forty-four in number, wherewith the Augustinian brotherhood has adorned Her shrines in their charge throughout Christendom.*

* *Our Blessed Lady's Shrines and Titles in the Augustinian Order*, in the *Conversion of St. Augustine*, by Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly, Philadelphia, 1887.

These are the chief events in this churchman's career at the Hill,—marks of his missionary worth and untiring spirit, that seemed best relieved, when hardest at work.

In 1885, on Tuesday, November 10, day chosen in lieu of the preceding Sunday, when a terrific downfall of rain had put away from all minds any thought of out-door festivity, was raised to its place on the lofty spire of St. Mary's a large gilded cross of copper, in place of the wooden one erected on the tower in '55.*

Two years later (in 1887), to their great jubilee the Faithful began to realize what for many a day had been little better than a far-off hope,—a misty dream (as it were) of a parish building, or hall, with full equipment for social as well as intellectual treats.

Up to this time chiefly through stress of circumstances the Faithful at the Hill albeit admirably furnished with a meeting-house for their religious devotions—the church itself of Our Lady, yet lacked a proper home-like place for purely social gatherings—for lectures, readings, entertainments and the like.†

So in September of that same year (1887),—so long had it taken as is not unusual in human affairs for the germ of promise to bud and fruit,—on the lot purchased by Rector McEvoy for this very purpose some ten years ahead, work was begun on the new building at St. Mary's,

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* In the fall of the preceding year (1884), from a "fair" (held under the auspices of the church), had been gathered the sum of $5500, employed later on in building Our Lady's sharp, almost needle-pointed, spire, that for miles around Her shrine serves as herald of the Blessed Sacrament, the transubstantiated Body of Her Divine Son, preserved beneath, whereof the Faithful at a distance may bow their knees in homage and hearts in prayer as well as in the consecrated walls themselves. (Truly Our Lady's Temple has ever been God's own House of Prayer.) This spire, with the cross, cost $3011.06, while the remainder was spent for other needed improvements in the building,—one of them, the tinting of the walls in distemper, that, as may easily be supposed, were now dingy enough in appearance after more than three decades of dust.

† In earlier times some of St. Mary's societies were wont to meet in the church cellar, where they had a room fitted up for their assemblies, at best a rather gloomy place of resort, that formerly had been used for storage. Here, with others, the old Temperance Society used to hold its meetings.

that was to round out the cluster of institutions under Our Lady's care devoted to religious as well as profane wisdom.*

This edifice known as St. Mary's Hall,—a neat, roomy structure of stone, the same as the other mission-buildings near by, was raised for a two-fold purpose—the first of them, school-use, then, social meetings of the Faithful the other. With the primal destiny of this worldly shrine in view to guide the rearers of it, class-rooms were built on the first floor, a meeting-room on the second—an airy, well-lighted hall seating easily from three to four hundred people, with stage and proper furniture for literary and dramatic entertainments and what not.†

And now for the benediction of the Hall in 1888, since work always turns out best when blessed by the Most High. On October 7, (in that year,) feast of Our Lady's Rosary, —a bright, beautiful day, as if nature herself were in full accord with the spirit of Christian joy, that exulted in the bosoms of them that were partakers in that festival, St. Mary's Hall was crowned with the blessing by Bishop O'Farrell of Trenton, a well-wisher of the Augustinian Fathers, deputed thereto by the ordinary of Philadelphia diocese, by whom also was given the inaugural discourse.

Still two years later (in 1890), on Thanksgiving Day, following a High Mass at nine in the morning, amid a large gathering of people—Faithful and mere lookers-on, the

* The corner-stone of St. Mary's Hall has cut in it a cross—becoming symbol of Faith on all human work as it was on divine—and the date, "Nov. 6. 1887."

† The dimensions of St. Mary's Hall are ninety feet in depth, thirty-five in width, while the cost of the structure, with furnishings and the grading of the ground in front, was about $22,000.

From the "Financial Statement" relating to the improvements made at St. Mary's from September, 1887, to January, 1893 (that is, the erection of Parish Hall and the decoration of the church by Scattaglia), I gather the following sources of revenue, which amounted (the report says) to $24,470, whereof $11,523 was gathered in house-to-house collections, $104 at the corner-stone laying in September, '87, $6007 from a "fair," $1948.50 at two "lawn festivals," $2195 from entertainments in Parish Hall, and so on. While the expenses, amounting in all to $25,282, were apportioned as follows: erection of Parish Hall, $17,370; coloring the church walls (in distemper), $2,600.

"Stars and Stripes," hallowed by Rector McShane, was thrown to the breezes from the top of the Hall. On this festive occasion, when patriotism fired by religion is wont to give thanks to God for His mercies, the customary dedicatory discourses on "The Flag" marked (as almost needless to say) with scholarship and love of country were given by Rev. Daniel J. Murphy, an Augustinian professor of Villanova, and Edward D. McLoughlin of the Philadelphia bar.

With the completion of the Hall, teachers and scholars abandoning their half-underground shrine of learning, (under St. Mary's,) where classes had been kept for the last seven years, migrated to the new sanctuary of the Christian muses, north of the church, the old basement whereof was soon after turned into chapel.

In the new Hall, in 1890, on Monday, December 2, in sequence of one of the aims,—social gatherings of the Faithful, especially of the younger members of the mission, wherefore though not chiefly the Hall had been founded, was established "St. Mary's Literary Society",—such was the title of this educational and social club, professedly one of the noblest auxiliary forces enlisted in behalf of that church, whose purpose mainly besides self-instruction of the members themselves was the entertainment of the people at large with readings, theatrical representations, and other like pastimes of fancy and intellect. The earliest roll of this guild comprises the names of forty-five enthusiasts, in less than two months from their enrolment increased to seventy-four, with assistant rector Geraghty as president, Edward C. Bardon, vice-president, Katie McFadden, secretary, John P. Sullivan, treasurer, William Dobb, sergeant-at-arms, and John Murphy his assistant. At their first meeting besides declaring themselves (as might be expected) in favor of the movement, the members set themselves on record as willing to pay ten cents a

month each in order to meet the expenses of their undertaking.

Sometime in the '80s,—this digression will not be found wholly irrelevant to our paper,—the sociologist might have observed, as may be his genius had already led him to discern, a sort of rather phenomenal outcropping through the land of divers associations especially of youth with such high-sounding titles as "summer-" and "winter schools", "lyceums", "literary" and "ethical" societies, whereby a stranger might easily be led to surmise that America had everywhere grown scholarly, its citizens veritable academicians. Only,—we say it with regret, these bands of literati, therein however not wholly unlike far older associations in the name of literature, art, nay even religion, did not always live up to the noble standard of their profession.

We give one instance of such degradation of lofty name gathered in our own experience. Some years ago, while busy in antiquarian researches into old-time as well as modern Catholic club character, the writer was privileged to look over the minute-books of one of these so-called learned guilds (now however extinct), that in life had borne for title a name indicative of high rank in the world of intellect and letters. Availing himself of the chance to extract from these "minutes" whatever might serve his sociological studies, he discovered that at nearly every assembly of this guild, from the very outset of their meetings, held at stated intervals during the course of at least two years, the chief and oftentimes sole entertainment of these budding Solons,—as a reading of their official legend would imply them to be,—consisted in music, songs, dancing,—never-failing attraction at their evening sessions,—they met weekly,—no matter whether the appointed essayist, or reader, was on hand, or, as not unfrequently was the case, away.

But we return to St. Mary's Literary Society, which soon took its proper place among these training schools of Christian manners,—of deportment, bearing, speech, for no doubt such associations are welcome auxiliaries in promoting upright behavior. Besides the election of officers (as said) the following resolutions formed part of the business transacted at their first assembly, that, namely, the members should meet every Monday evening, and be accorded the freedom of the parish library, for whose benefit the first public "minstrel" entertainment was given on Tuesday night, December 30, 1890.*

But as the fates would have it, this scheme that at its birth seemed to augur so healthful a re-development of intellectual genius among St. Mary's followers, beyond a laudable enthusiasm for its success during the first few years of its life, has failed seemingly to thrive yet (one should declare) through no lack of material nourishment, the library while not large being yet well-stocked with works not a few of them too of lofty character and much solid worth.

On reflection the decay of St. Mary's reading-club was due (it seems) to waning taste for intellectual study among its members,—a phenomenon in the world of science to be descried elsewhere in Christendom than Chestnut Hill,—a spirit of mental apathy that (however mournfully we acknowledge the fact) even now shows but little sign of re-quickening. After a not ignoble, nor unfruitful, career of about four years, St. Mary's Literary Society, ceasing to live according to its original statutes—the entertainment of their fellow-parishioners, disbanded in 1894.†

* Many years earlier, during the rectorship of Doctor Moriarty, his assistant, Father Darragh (as elsewhere indicated) had formed the nucleus of a circulating parish library, whereof the books at first were stored in the old south vestry, then later (under Father McEvoy) in the north transept of the church, where they now are.

† The last weekly meeting of this society was held on Thursday, May 12, 1892; nor were their minutes kept any later. In '94, the members having continued up to this to meet once a month disbanded for good. (From information from their late president.)

In furtherance of this project to safeguard the amusements of this flock the society (under the guidance of Rector McShane) at times even calling to its aid outside talent—volunteer lecturers and readers, continued not unfrequently to interest the mass of parishioners in its advance.

Still another step forward in the uplifting of the Faithful of Our Lady at the Hill to a loftier plane of intellectual life must be chronicled,—the creation in St. Mary's of another society, one of purely devotional cast, the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Girdle, a distinctively Augustinian institution, greatly favored from time almost immemorial in the Church by the Supreme Pontiffs and other pious clients of the Mother of Our Lord.*

This brotherhood under the patronage of Our Lady of Consolation—titular too of St. Mary's at the Hill, (we may observe) was first organized in Italy in the XVth century, in double honor of St. Augustine of Hippo and of his own saintly mother Monica, both upright followers of the divine law, that for ages have been recognized by Christendom as exemplars of saintliness, models of Christian spirit, types of Christian manhood and womanhood,—the son as earnest worshipper of the majesty of God as well as heartfelt penitent for his own many shortcomings in early life, the mother not only for her piety (the same as her son's,) but for her never-waning trust in the Almighty, her unceasing kindliness of speech and ways in her threefold state of life as maiden, wife, and widow.

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* Commonly, wherever members of the Augustinian order have settled are erected in their churches Girdle societies, to whom (for ages) the Sovereign Pontiffs have accorded indulgences—spiritual favors of Mother Church—in such wealth of benedictions and comforts of soul as to make them fairly outrank all similar institutions among the Faithful. Thus, for example, "every member of the Girdle enjoys not only the indulgences granted to the Augustinian order in chief, but (by communication) all the indulgences that have been, or at any time, shall be granted to other religious bodies, orders, congregations, confraternities, shrines, or the like." This grant, made by Popes Julius II., Leo X., Gregory XIII., and Clement X., was confirmed by His late Holiness Pope Pius IX. on September 18, 1862. (*Compendium Privilegiorum Ordinis*, (Rome, 1900,) pp. 158, 159.)

At the Hill, this association of the Faithful was established by Rector McShane, in September, 1892, with a membership on its rolls of over a hundred.

In 1894,* having been in care of Our Lady's mission twelve years, Father McShane now promoted to the presidency of Villanova College, on his transfer to this new arena of labor, was succeeded (at the Hill) by Rev. Timothy F. Herlihy, for the seven previous years professor at the above centre of Augustinian scholarship. In 1898, at the close of this Father's rectorship (in July) his place at St. Mary's was entrusted to the present incumbent Rev. Daniel J. O'Sullivan.†

In summing up whatever of prominence in special lines may have been displayed by the several rectors of St. Mary's in the work entrusted to their hands and hearts, the writer may not untruly proclaim this fact that Doctor Moriarty (as natural) should be put down as the creator of Her mission, (he at least presided at its birth,) Father McEvoy as crystallizer of its energies, for he first sought to develop the capabilities of its organized powers and beauties, which subsequently re-fashioned and re-touched by Father McShane, were guarded by Father Herlihy, as now they are being cherished by Father O'Sullivan, fifth rector in residence at the "Hermitage." ‡

Thus ends our sketch of the mission-story of Our Lady at Chestnut Hill, which since 1855, year of its foundation, when it ranked as twenty-eighth among the churches of Philadelphia, has witnessed the birth of forty-seven other

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* In this year (1894), by rescript dated Rome, March 12, His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. deigned to raise the house of Our Lady of Consolation at Chestnut Hill to the rank of priory of the Augustinian Order.

† During the rectorship of Father O'Sullivan, on Tuesday, December 11, 1900, an organization was effected of the beneficial society known as the Catholic Knights of St. John, with an enrolment of twenty-two members.

‡ In Appendix G will be given a list of the rectors of St. Mary's and their assistants from 1855 to 1900; while in Appendix I are tables of baptisms, marriages, and confirmations registered at Our Lady of Consolation for the same period.

public organized centres of Christian genesis—sanctuaries of the Living God—within that city.*

But while with this summary of Our Lady's vicissitudes properly closes our paper on Her mission at the Hill, the writer may be allowed this observation that (as elsewhere alluded to) while in the grandeur of her divinity the Catholic Church at large is reflected in even the tiniest of her creations, which no matter how insignificant its field of labor, partakes in a measure of the attributes of the divine stock whence it has sprung,—of the glory and merit of the Church of God, whereof it is member, so every Christian organization in the world, every diocese, every parish, every mission, even the pettiest, having the same Altar of Sacrifice, the same Sacraments of the Holy Spirit—all channels of the same Divine Mercy, is therefore an analogue of the universal Church of the Triune God, both in the graces that betoken its divinity, and the flaws too, (be it said,) that reveal the human side of its constitution.

Thus daily at St. Mary's, for Her mission at the Hill is no exception to the general law of inherited resemblance, as at other mission-centres of Christendom is offered up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass,—itself no light burden for even angels' strength, source too on earth as in Heaven of all benedictions on man—of graces of the spirit when living, of comforts of soul when dead. Then as so many other counteractants to slothfulness of life, pastimes too (as it were) of healthful energy, are the never unenlivening tasks of the clergy in care,—of sacraments to be given, of lessons to be taught, of guilds to be trained, of sick to be visited, of schools to be drilled, as well as keeping an eye on the not unneeded, nay indispensable, temporalities of the church.

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* We count only the churches in Philadelphia, as given in Hoffman's *Directory* for 1900. In Appendix H is a list of missions that have been cut off from St. Mary's.

At this writing (we may add) with the close of the year 1900, the Faithful of Our Lady's mission at Chestnut Hill number thirteen hundred and fifty souls; with two hundred and thirty pupils at parish school,—120 boys, 110 girls.

While connected with the church are the following societies with their membership:

1 Sacred Heart of Jesus.....175
2 Girdle of Our Lady of Consolation..... 56
3 Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary..... 83
4 Pious Union of Our Lady of Good Counsel.....200
5 Altar Society.....125
6 Father McEvoy Beneficial Society..... 75
7 I. C. B. U.....130
8 Catholic Knights of St. John..... 35

Fr. Thomas C. Middleton, O. S. A.

Villanova College, Pa.
January 1, 1901.

APPENDIXES.

A.—CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA FROM 1731 TO 1855.

The following list of churches in Philadelphia, founded prior to Our Lady of Consolation at Chestnut Hill, according to the order of their antiquity, with the dates of the laying of their corner-stones and their blessing, (sometimes though not rightly styled their dedication) has been drawn up from the MS. *Journal* of the late Venerable Bishop Neumann, C.SS.R., whereof a copy is in the hands of the writer; Mr. Griffin's *Paper* on "The Catholic Church," prepared by him for Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* (vol. ii, pp. 1365-92;) *Historical Sketches* by Daniel H. Mahony; and from researches made by the writer himself in the archives of the churches named.

CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA FROM 1731 TO 1855.

Title.	Corner-stone laid.	Church blessed.
1. St. Joseph	1731?	1732, February 26?
2. St. Mary	1763	1763? .....
3. Most Holy Trinity	....	1789, November 22
4. St. Augustine	1796, September 1	1801, June 7?
5. St. John Baptist (Manayunk)	....	1831, April 4
6. St. John Evangelist	1831, May 6	1832, April 8
7. St. Michael (Kensington)	1833, April 8	1834, September 28
8. St. Francis Xavier (Fairmount)	1839, June 10	1839, December 1
9. St. Philip Neri (Southwark)	1841, July 31	1841, May 9
10. St. Patrick	1841, July 4	1841, December 5
11. St. Paul	1843, May 7	1843, December 17
12. St. Peter	1843, September 10	1844, December 29
13. St. Stephen (Nicetown)	1843, September 21	1844, January 1
14. St. Ann (Port Richmond)	1845, July 4	1846, November 15
15. St. Joachim (Frankford)	1845, September 28	....
16. Sts. Peter and Paul (Cathedral)	1846, September 6	1864, November 20
17. Assumption B. V. M.	1848, May 21	1849, November 11
18. Assumption B. V. M. (Manayunk)	1849, June 3	1850, January 6
19. St. Vincent of Paul (Germantown)	1849, September 2	1851, July 13
20. St. Dominic (Holmesburg)	1849, September 9	....
21. St. Gregory VII. (Blockley)	1849?	....
22. St. James (West Philada.)	1850, August 4	1852, October ..
23. St. Malachi	1851, May 25	1852, September 19
24. St. Theresa	1853, May 29	1854, December 25
25. St. Bridget (Falls of Schuylkill)	1853, September ..	1855, April 15
26. St. Alphonsus Liguori	1853, June 19	1854, April 2
27. St. Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi	1854, May 14	1855?, October 22
28. ST. MARY, MOTHER OF CONSOLATION (Chestnut Hill)	1855, June 10	1855, November 11

B.—EXTRACTS FROM THE SACRAMENTAL REGISTER OF FATHER THEODORE SCHNEIDER, S.J., (A.D. 1742-1744).

The *Baptismal Register* of Rev. Theodore Schneider, Jesuit missionary in charge of Goshenhoppen, thus records some early Germantown baptisms:*

* Published in the RECORDS of this SOCIETY for 1886–1888, ii. 318, 319, 321.

On March 9, 1742, was baptized "near Germantown", (so Fr. Schneider has it,) one George Reinold Friderich, son of Philip, ("commonly called the stone-breaker";) the sponsors of the child being John George Schwartzmann and wife.

Again in the same year Father Schneider baptized at his parents' home "in Germantown" George Arnold, son of George; the godmother being Catharine, wife of George Spengler, who stood for the child as its "*quasi* godfather." (So runs this record.)

Again in the following year 1743, on October 6, also in his parents' house "near Germantown" was baptized by the same missionary Andrew, son of John and Anna Mary Schwartzmann; his godparents being Andrew Engelhard and his wife Walburga.

In the same register is also the record of a baptism administered August 7, 1744, (by the same clergyman,) "in John Molitor's house near Germantown", to A. Barbara and Catharine, daughters of Nicholas Chateau and his wife M. [*Mary*] Eve. As godparents of these children A. Barbara Fridrich stood for her namesake and Catharine Riffel for hers.

In his registration of this baptism Father Schneider has subjoined to the name of their father the abbreviation "(Calv.)", indicative of the Calvinist, or Presbyterian, form of belief of their sire. (See *id.*, p. 323.)

C.—SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF EARLY MEMBERS OF ST. MARY'S, 1855-1856.

The names that follow of some of the early members of St. Mary's have been copied from the church *Registers of Baptisms and Marriages* for 1855-1856, the first year of its corporate existence.

Let it be observed that adults only—persons grown up—as the parents and godparents in baptisms, the contracting parties and witnesses at marriages, are named below.

To our great regret (it should be said) the pew-rolls and collection-lists of the church for this early period, wherefrom we might hope to gain valuable additions, are missing. Moreover some of the names already given in the body of this sketch will be encountered in this registry-list.

NAMES OF ADULTS IN THE BAPTISMAL AND MARRIAGE REGISTERS FOR 1855-1856.

Catharine Baggs
James Beggs
Patrick Bigler and his wife Martha Filmore
Joseph Blaise
Mary Bohan
David Books and his wife Catharine Nevins
Helen Boudran
John Boyle
Patrick Boyle
Jerome Cannon
Mary Cannon
Richard Clinton and his wife Mary Sheridan
Helen Conway
Michael Conway and his wife Mary Hearn
Jane Corrigan
Jane Crotty
Mary Crotty
Daniel Curley and his wife Bridget Flannery
Thomas Curley
Margaret Devlin
Bridget Doran
Bernard Duffy and his wife Mary Murray
Patrick Duffy
James Dunn and his wife Alice McCourt
Anna Dwyer
Martin Fegan and his wife Rose Mara
Jeremiah Flannery
Helen Fox
Patrick Fox
Michael Furlong and his wife Mary Thompson
Edward Gallen
James Gorman and his wife Mary Dowling
Mary Gridle
Anna Hanley
Patrick Hanley and his wife Jane Coyle
Bridget Haverty
Catharine Hayes
Michael Jennings and his wife Bridget Shaughnessy
Charles Kane
Michael Kavenagh
Francis Kelly
Elizabeth Kennedy
Patrick Kennedy
Mary Lamb
Alice Landrick
Mary Lyons
John McDevitt, and his wife Hannah Coyle
William McDevitt
James McFadden
Hugh McKegney
Thomas McMahon
Mary Magrann
Thomas Mangan, and his wife Sarah Douglass
Elizabeth Martin
Mary Monahan [*Monaghan?*]
Jane Moriss [*or* Morris?]

Martin Moriss [*a mis-spelling for* Morris,] and his wife Mary Mahoney, of County Kilkenny
Patrick Moriss, [*or* Morris?]
John Nevins
Margaret Nevins
Michael O'Brien
Mary Pierce
Samuel Pierce and his wife Bridget McNulty
James Power
John Regan
Patrick Regan and his wife Bridget Murphy
Richard Reilly and his wife Catharine Gaffney
Margaret Rice
Catharine Richards
John Ryan
Catharine Shea
Andrew Sheridan
Bernard Sheridan
Helen Sheridan
Owen Trainor
Michael Treehy, and his wife Helen Cunnihan
Gaspar Walz and his wife Barbara Lutz
John Walz
Mary Welsh
George White
Patrick White and his wife Margaret Green

D.—EXPENSES IN BUILDING THE CHURCH AND PRESBYTERY OF ST. MARY, OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION, 1855-1857.

Following is a summary of expenses contracted by St. Mary's during the building of the church and presbytery, from January 1, 1855, to April 7, 1857, when the church was completed at the cost (so the record says) of $14,-541.91.*

If the totals (as may be noticed) are found to differ from the accounts themselves, let this variance (in the figures) be put down not to any fault of the scribe, who has used care in copying them just as they read, but to some unaccountable intellectual vagary of the original accountant.

EXPENSES IN BUILDING CHURCH AND PRESBYTERY.

Wm. Wood stone	$170.
Sam. [*H.*] Austin stone on lot	70.
Digging Jas. Gleason	109.68

* These items have been taken partly from the *Memorandum Book* (frequently referred to) and in part from a statement (in the hand of Father Harnett, for several years, from 1859 to 1867, the Doctor's assistant) drawn up apparently from originals, now, however, missing. Father Harnett's statement is headed "*Building Expenses of Church of Our Lady of Consolation, Chestnut Hill.*" (The bracketed notes are the writer's own.)

Screening sand Mich. McGrath, Mich. Rowe, "Dan" Donovan, Geo. McKeever	
Mason work Levi Cope	
Nails Bates $160., Patrick Tobin $48.75	$208.75
Screening [*sand*] Bernard Ward, Michael Connor, Wm. Boyle, Thomas King,	
Cutting stone John Hagner	60.
Carpenter Job Ridgeway *	
Stone Wm. [*W.*] Piper	40.
Flag stone, eaves & battlement	90.
Flag for heater	21.
Lumber S. Megargee $74.39, Brown & Co. $958.72, Roberts $176.96, Barr & Gould $200	1410.07
Digging well [*R.*] Morissey & [*James*] Ryan	12.
" " [*James*] Ryan	81.87
Cutting patterns Jos. Hubbs	5.50
Executing deed [*'Squire*] Snyder	2.25
Pewter sand Gulinger	3.
Smith work [*Jacob M.*] Fisher	3.
Plastering Hahn	100.
Stone Cutting 12 window arches @ $45	540.
Stone windows of 2nd story of Tower	90.
Cutting front doors & windows	100.
Four circular windows	200.
Hauling by Rahn, Nolan, Shears,	
Laborers ["*Tom*"] Crotty, ["*Dan*"] Donovan, Glynn, Carroll, Watson, Regney, Shea	
Iron Johnson 176 lbs	17.60
2 iron gates & drilling holes	14.62
Sand for rough casting	40.
Carpenter ["*Pat*"] Owens, $21.37, Sands $5., Dodwell $5	31.37
Painting [*George*] Weiss	66.05
Plastering sand Gaston	28.
Stone—door & cellar sills & heads $78.80, ditto ditto $94.85, window sills $38, Coins (265) $662.50, Flagstone (206 ft.) $40	914.15
Grading & hauling—Wood	22.25
Work McCullough	36.00
White lead Gorgas	2.50
Pews ["*Pat*"] Owens	101.50
Gas fixtures	65.10
Lime Smith	100.
Hardware McClure $64., Johann $75.42	139.42

* In 1861, April 10, Job Ridgeway was paid in full for work on the church, $30.

Tin work Cummings	$51.06
Stairs Vesey	30.
Scaffolding Sheridan	50.
Paints Jenks & Ogden	79.26
Lumber Woelpper $100., Sheridan $185.50	285.50
Work J. [*James*] Hughes	16.12
Holy water Font	13.
Expenses of church building from 1855–June 6, 1857	* $13,603.36

1855, Sept. Digging cellar [*"Tim"*] Crowley	$32.24
Corner stone	2.
digging cellar Gleason	7.
Mason work Jennings	30.
Ryan & Morrissey digging well	53.75
Nace & Genter carpenters	
Gas fixtures	16.50
hardware Bates	
lime Smith	
painting [*George*] Weiss	
Slating Cahill	186.80
pointing Weightman & Jones	88.56
Expenses in full from Sept. 1855 to August, 1856	$3,139.38
[*Expenses on church*	*13,603.36*]
[*do. on church and presbytery*	*16,742.74*]

While still another summary (in the *Account Books* of the church) reads thus:

Stone	$3,095.10	Lime and Sand	$459.75
Masons	1,578.66	Sundries	140.25
Lumber	3,614.23	Freight	122.17
Carpenters	1,569.85	Painting	172.06
Laborers	505.16	Insurance and Rent	1,001.88
Hardware	424.93	Miscellaneous	503.47
Plastering	317.37		$13,504.88

* The variation in these figures from the sum elsewhere set down—$14,541.91—cannot be accounted for by the writer. (He merely records what he has found.) They refer (it appears) to the church building, while the following (set down also by Father Harnett) seem to be expenses for the presbytery.

E.—NAMES OF MEMBERS OF THE MISSION OF OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION, NATIVES OR RESIDENTS, WHO HAVE ENTERED THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

Augustinians: Thomas C. Middleton; John J. Ryan; Charles J. McFadden; James F. Green; Michael A. Ryan, (brother of John;) Henry T. Conway.

Besides the following women have entered various church sisterhoods, whose names in religion we have put in brackets:

Sisters of Mercy: Margaret Middleton, [M. Bonaventure;] and her sister Emily Middleton, [M. Austin.]

Sisters of St. Joseph: Martha Daly, [M. Theodore;] Bridget McGill, [M. Tolentine;] Annie Burns, [M. Alphonzine;] Maria Byrne, [M. Gregoria;] Mary McCloskey, [M. Nicolita;] Margaret Ehler, [M. Christiana;] Julia Monaghan, [M. de Bono Consilio;] Bridget Ann Corrigan, [M. Monica.]

Sisters of the Good Shepherd: Margaret Lee, [M. Rose;] Hannah McElwaine, [M. of St. Thomas.]

Sisters of the Holy Cross: Katie Books, [M. Cyril.]

Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary: Mary Shortwell, [M. Inez;] Julia Milon, [M. Damian.]

Sisters of Charity, (Mother Seton's branch): Katharine Molloy, [M. Vida.]

F.—ASSISTANTS OF DOCTOR MORIARTY AT ST. MARY'S, 1856-1875.

By reference to the church-registers at the Hill we find the terms of his four assistants to have been as follows:

(1) Rev. Edward M. Mullen registered his first baptism February 17, 1856; his first marriage the 13th of the following April; and a few months later was located permanently at the Hill, whither he had been coming off and on to help the Doctor especially on Sundays. In the spring

of 1859 he was transferred to Villanova, his last entry at St. Mary's—a marriage—being dated May 1, of that year; his last baptism the 25th of the preceding month.

(2) Rev. William Harnett sent to the Hill as auxiliary to Father Edward during the Doctor's absence in New York, remained there till the summer of 1867, when he was transferred thence to New England. His first registrations—a baptism and marriage (both the same day) are dated October 10, 1858; his last a baptism July 21, 1867; his last marriage on the 7th of the same month.

(3) Rev. James A. Darragh on September 15, 1867, registers a baptism administered however by Doctor Moriarty incapacitated doubtless by his malady from handling a pen; and on April 13 of the following year his first marriage. His last registration—a baptism—is dated March 17, 1871; his last marriage December 23 of the preceding year.

(4) Rev. Christopher A. McEvoy made his first entry in the church books—a baptism—on April 23, 1871, just twenty days after his ordination to priesthood; and the record of his first marriage on the 21st of the following month. While his last registration—a marriage—is dated July 22, 1882; his last baptism the 2nd of the same month.

G.—LIST OF RECTORS OF THE MISSION CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION AT CHESTNUT HILL WITH THEIR ASSISTANTS.

(1) Patrick E. Moriarty, D.D., first rector (deceased at Villanova College, Pa., July 10, 1875, aged seventy-one years;) November, 1855, to January, 1875; with him part of the time was Brother Joseph Whittindale, laic, (deceased also at Villanova College, December 9, 1885, aged seventy years;) assistants—Edward M. Mullen, (deceased at Genazzano, Italy, August 8, 1888, aged sixty-three years;)—, 1855,—June, 1859; William Harnett, (deceased at Lawrence, Mass., March 28, 1875, aged fifty-five years;)

November, 1859, to September, 1867; James A. Darragh, (deceased at Villanova College, January 7, 1887, aged forty-nine years;) September, 1867, to May, 1871; Christopher A. McEvoy, April, 1871, to January, 1875.

(2) Christopher A. McEvoy, second rector, January, 1875, to July, 1882; assistants—Francis J. Rowan, (deceased at Brooklyn, N. Y., September 20, 1887, aged thirty-five years;) September, 1877, to July, 1878; William A. Marsden, (deceased at Cambridge, N. Y., February 17, 1883, aged thirty years;) July, 1878, to July, 1881; Daniel J. O'Mahony, July, 1881, to May, 1882.

(3) Francis J. McShane, third rector, July, 1882, to July, 1894; assistants—Henry A. Fleming, S.T.L., (deceased at Villanova College, January 27, 1885, aged fifty-nine years;) July, 1882, to October, 1882; John T. Emmet, December, 1882, to July, 1886; John A. Whelan, July, 1886, to September, 1887; James A. A. M. Leonard, (deceased at Cambridge, N. Y., March 22, 1894, aged thirty-two years;) October, 1887, to July, 1889; Daniel J. Leonard, July, 1889, to May, 1890; Martin J. Geraghty, July, 1890, to July, 1894.

(4) Timothy F. Herlihy, fourth rector, July, 1894, to July, 1898; assistants—James E. Vaughan, (deceased at Philadelphia, December 24, 1900, aged thirty-six years;) July, 1894, to January, 1898; Frederick S. Riordan, June, 1896, to date.

(5) Daniel J. O'Sullivan, fifth rector, July, 1898, to date; assistant—Joseph T. Moriarty, December, 1899, to December, 1900.

H.—MISSION OFF-SHOOTS OF OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION, 1855-1890.

When sketching (in our opening pages) the wide reach of territory entrusted to the Augustinians of Chestnut Hill, in 1855, we noted that their care embraced all the district

(formerly in charge of St. Vincent's of Germantown) from Allen's Lane at Mount Airy, westward as far almost as a priest could travel. Such practically was the *quasi* limitless field of labor given the Fathers of St. Mary's.

With the increase in numbers of the Faithful within these lines little by little sections of territory,—we record four of these divisions,—were carved off in turn from St. Mary's early mission-charge to become themselves so many distinct nuclei-centres—of Catholic organized life, with the result that with the restriction of the powers of that mission its influences for good became stronger.

(1) The first church to be established in what was part of St. Mary's field was Our Lady of Mount Carmel at Doylestown, whereof the corner-stone was laid the same year as St. Mary's own, albeit a month or so later—on July 31, (1855,) though the church itself was not opened to divine service until a year after, when in 1856, on November 23, it was blessed by Bishop Neumann, and Rev. Francis X. George put in charge.

(2) In 1857, was formed at Jenkintown the second of these territorial excisions with the establishment there of the mission of the Immaculate Conception.*

(3) The third mission (to be cut off from St. Mary's) was St. Anthony's at Ambler, where on Easter Monday, April 26, 1886, the corner-stone of that church was laid by Father McShane, rector of St. Mary's. While on July 25, (of the same year,) we may add, Mass was first said in St. Anthony's by Rev. Henry Stommell, its founder; and on the 21st of the following September, (1886,) the church itself was blessed by Archbishop Ryan.

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* In his *Register*, for August 8, of the above year, 1857, Bishop Neumann records his sanction of the purchase of a church-lot at Jenkintown, there being (he says) "about seventy Catholic families in that neighborhood."

In Bean's *History of Montgomery County* (p. 734) it is stated that the church of the Immaculate Conception (at Jenkintown) was built in 1866, the congregation previously having worshipped in Lyceum Hall.

(4) While in 1890, St. Mary's was subjected to a still further loss in territory by having the district of Mount Airy midway between St. Vincent's of Germantown, (the old mission-field of Father Brosius at the beginning of the century,) formed into a new church-centre, that part of it, namely, of her care east of Wissahickon (now Springfield) avenue, with about twenty families numbering some one hundred and twenty-five souls, together with a similar section withdrawn from Germantown charge.*

This new mission entitled Holy Cross, the church building of that name on Mount Airy avenue, (formerly known as Baker street, then Willow Grove Turnpike,) up to this date (1890) an Episcopal foundation, was solemnly blessed by Archbishop Ryan on Sunday, November 16 of that year, Rev. Francis X. McGowan, O.S.A., a Villanova professor, making the dedicatory address; and Rev. Joseph O'Keefe, afterwards transferred to the cathedral-church in Philadelphia, installed first rector in care. (The purchase-money paid by Archbishop Ryan for Holy Cross lot and buildings amounted to $14,000.) Holy Cross, it may be noticed, is a small one-aisled Gothic church of stone, set well back from the avenue, and vine-covered as well as the house.†

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* The division-line between Mount Airy church and St. Vincent's is Sharpnack Street.

† The following data relating to the pre-Catholic occupation of Holy Cross I have gathered from a historical memoir of that shrine, composed by Rev. Simeon C. Hill, Episcopal incumbent of Grace church (near by) in 1900. Therein it is recorded that this place of Episcopal worship, first named (on Monday, August 23, 1858) "The Church of the Messiah," subsequently (on Thursday, October 21, of the same year) "Grace Church," was consecrated on the first Sunday in May (also first day of that month), 1859, by Bishop Bowman, assisted by Bishop Alonzo Potter, while the sermon was delivered by the son of the latter-named churchman, Rev. Henry Potter, now Episcopal bishop of New York; the corner-stone of the building having been laid on Saturday, September 18, of the previous year (1858). Rev. Dr. Alexander Shiras was the first Episcopal minister in residence at Mount Airy (this in 1865), Grace Church having previously been attended by itinerants; while the present presbytery of Holy Cross, built by the above-named Mr. Hill, was first occupied by him in March, 1876.

I.—TABLES OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND CONFIRMATIONS AT CHESTNUT HILL FROM 1855 to 1900.

In early years the registrations in the church-books at St. Mary's were made usually by the Doctor himself or some one of his assistants.

The first—the baptism of November 11, 1855—is signed "Patritio Eugenio Moriarty, D.D., O.S.A., Parocho S. Mariae"; others, "Fr. P. E. Moriarty, O.S.A."; "P. E. Moriarty"; "P. Eugenius Moriarty"; "Fr. Patritius Eugenius Moriarty, O.S.A."; or his name simply (without any affixes.)

Occasionally too the sacraments were administered by chance visitors, as Father Michael F. Gallagher, who baptized in February 3, 1856, besides witnessing the first marriage contracted in St. Mary's on the 29th of the previous month; Father Mark Crane, who baptized on November 30, 1856, besides witnessing a marriage on May 3, 1857, (his last registration;) and Father Ambrose A. Mullen, who administered baptism first on September 16, 1858; besides assisting at a marriage on January 15 of the following year. These priests were members of the brotherhood with residence at St. Augustine's in Philadelphia. Other signers in the registers,—we speak only of Doctor Moriarty's time,— were Rev. Thomas Kyle, of Philadelphia, a member of the order engaged in secular mission-service since 1848; Rev. Henry Allen, an Augustinian of the Irish province, who signs a baptism on September 24, 1866; and Rev. Francis X. Deneckere, S.J., by whom baptism was conferred on April 29, 1860, and August 10, 1862.

BAPTISMS AND MARRIAGES, 1855-1900.

For such of our readers as find a charm in vital statistics here subjoined is the number of Baptisms and Marriages as recorded year by year at St. Mary's from the foundation of that church to the end of the century just closed.

Year.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
1855 *	4	
1856	20	12
1857	23	10
1858	33	4
1859	31	5
1860	32	6
1861	46	9
1862	42	3
1863	52	4
1864	35	3
1865	50	6
1866	50	14
1867	38	6
1868	49	8
1869	48	6
1870	37	7
1871	55	5
1872	34	9
1873	53	6
1874	42	6
1875	50	9
1876	49	7
1877	31	10
1878	40	12
1879	43	10
1880	35	5
1881	31	9
1882	30	12
1883	37	6
1884	33	9
1885	44	5
1886	40	5
1887	43	8
1888	56	11
1889	40	11
1890	45	18
1891	43	18
1892	53	12
1893	48	13
1894	44	13
1895	51	10
1896	52	6
1897	50	8
1898	43	6
1899	54	10
1900	51	14
	1906	386

NOTE.—Or, in other words, the number of souls baptized yearly at Our Lady's Shrine will be found to average over *forty-two;* while the number of couples united in the bonds of holy wedlock averages slightly more than *eight* a year.

CONFIRMATIONS, 1855-1900.

The earliest (known) record of Confirmation in the church of Our Lady of Consolation states that this sacrament was conferred on Sunday, June 20, 1858, when twenty-seven souls were strengthened by the Holy Spirit of God through the ministration of Bishop Wood.†

Then unaccountably, though confirmation was undoubtedly administered in the interval, there are no records, not

* The *Registers* of St. Mary's open with the baptism (already described) on November 11, 1855, and the marriage on January 29, 1856, the first celebrated in St. Mary's.

† *Catholic Herald* for June 26, 1858.

even (as I am creditably informed) at the cathedral church in Philadelphia, to show that this sacrament was given at the Hill.

At St. Mary's the confirmation-register opens with the following:

1878, Thursday, June 6, by Bishop Wood were confirmed one hundred and seventy-two (172) persons—90 male, 82 female.

1883, Sunday, May 27, by Bishop Wadhams, of Ogdensburg, N. Y., one hundred and thirty-one (131)—50 male, 81 female.

1887, Sunday, April 24, by Archbishop Ryan one hundred and eighteen (118)—67 male, 51 female.

1892, Sunday, October 2, by the same prelate one hundred and thirteen (113)—56 male, 57 female.

1897, Sunday, September 12, by the same prelate ninety-two (92)—41 male, 51 female.

1900, Sunday, November 25, by the same prelate one hundred and eight (108)—56 male, 52 female.

ONE OF PHILADELPHIA'S SOLDIERS

IN THE

WAR OF 1812.

BY ISABEL M. O'REILLY.

(CONTINUED.)

Fourth Letter.

Camp Geneva, Septm. 27th, 1812.
State of New York.

Dear Father & Mother:

I take every opportunity of letting you know where I am, for I assure you the only uneasiness I have is on your account fearing that you should be unhappy or anxious to hear the result of our campaign.

We are now one hundred and eighty-seven miles from Albany and 447 from Philadelphia, by the route we have come. We left Greenbush on the 16th inst. & arrived in Albany; on the 17th we marched; passed through Schenectady, a handsome city, crossed the Mohawk River and encamped on its banks; the 18th, proceeded on our march up the Mohawk turnpike 75 miles, recrossed the Mohawk and entered Utica on the 25th. Utica surpasses for beauty and size any city that I have seen since I left Albany. The road so far has been a road of villages, generally handsome, laid out with a great deal of taste and containing more elegance and fashion than you would expect. The churches and public buildings in them might occupy a distinguished place in Philadelphia.

After writing my last letter we marched but half a mile that afternoon, and the following morning we passed

through the Oneida tribe. We were much pleased with the reception they gave us: the Indian men were paraded on one side of the road saluting us, and the squaws on the other with baskets filled with fruit which they distributed among our men.

We are now between the lakes,—having crossed the Skaneateles and the Cayuga are now on the banks of Seneca. The next will be Canandaigua, sixteen miles from here. I never thought I could become so accustomed to marching; after measuring twenty miles I can rise the following morning as cheerful and light for twenty more as if I had not marched a mile, and as to eating and sleeping, we dare not think of such a thing out of camp. We often halt and sit down in the middle of a field after marching from ten to fourteen miles to dine on crackers and milk. But you are not to suppose that we have to put up with this always,—we sometimes have better. The men stand it very well; we have no trouble with them; in all the different changes—wet or dry, warm or cold, they are in good spirits.

We are but 130 miles from Niagara. I expect we shall move shortly after we get there, as there will be a sufficient force collected at three different points to enter Canada (at Niagara, Plattsburgh & Detroit), but you may be sure you will hear from me before we leave there.

Give my love to Anne, Mary and all the family. I shall charge my memory with all that occurs, to recount next winter—this time next year,—in old Philadelphia, when we will be all happy and comfortable (I hope in God) round a good fire,—which, dear Father and Mother, is the first wish of your

Affectionate and dutiful son

Patrick McDonogh.

When you write you will direct to Lt. McDonogh, 2nd Regmt., U. S. Artillery, Niagara.

Fifth Letter.

Camp Lewistown, October 16th, 1812.

My dear Sister:

I cannot conceive what can be the cause of my father or mother not writing to me. I have written four letters and received no answer. My last was on the night of the 12th inst.* previous to our marching for this place where we arrived the following morning before day when an unfortunate action commenced. I say unfortunate for it was truly so for us. Half an hour before day the troops crossed (composed principally of militia and about 600 regulars) under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries of red hot shell, grape and round shot. In less than two hours the two batteries were taken and their troops retreated in all directions leaving us in complete possession of the hill and landing. A skirmishing ensued which lasted until two o'clock, the Englishmen dropping in all quarters; but after collecting their forces for seven miles around, they brought a strong reinforcement of English and Indians, and from that moment the scene began to change, although obstinately contested by our men who fought like heroes but without regularity or order, being entirely conducted by militia officers. Major General Vanrenselaer—who ordered the attack, for certainly there was no plan in it, there being not even boats provided to take us over—is a General of this State, and I believe wished to have the merit of doing as much mischief as he could without the assistance or advice of an officer or private of the regular army. It was with difficulty that we could procure permission to partake in it. General Smythe and his brigade were on their way to this place—his brigade consisting of twelve hundred fine men—when he (VanR.) sent an express with orders for him to return, when two or three hundred Regulars at

* The letter here alluded to is not included in the collection.

furthest more than we had would have decided in our favor and prevented our brave soldiers from being made prisoners. The Militia whilst in action fought bravely, but they would leave it when they thought proper, and could not be prevailed on to return. Out of the 600 Regulars there are not more than 250 that are not killed or wounded and 130 are prisoners. Our Colonel is a prisoner, Lt. Roach is slightly wounded through the arm by a rifle-ball, and none of our men dangerously. Major Mullany is a prisoner: when the troops surrendered he hid himself in the rocks for a day, but the English sent two officers and two officers that were prisoners and a strong Guard to prevent the Indians from scalping those that were scattered, which they were busily engaged in doing, when the Major with six privates gave himself up. He behaved very well during the action. The English have lost most of their officers,—General Brock was killed and his aid, McDonald of Detroit, mortally wounded; the 49th Regiment had half their choicest men that they boasted so much of cut to pieces; of two fine Companies of Grenadiers not a man left, and a great many Indians killed. They can say that they defeated us but they have no more to boast of—you may guess that they were well pinched. The battle ended between four and five P.M.,—fifteen minutes later a flag of truce arrived requesting a cessation of hostilities for three days. It was granted and will terminate to-day.*

* The action here described by Lieutenant McDonogh is given thus by Shallus, October 13, 1812: "The Americans under col. Van Rensalaer attacked and carried the heights of Queenston, Canada. In crossing, lieut. col. Christie was wounded in the leg by a grape shot, col. Van Rensalaer was wounded by four balls, lieut. col. Bloom was wounded, and also lieut. col. Fenwick received 3 severe wounds. Capts. Armstrong, Malcolm, Ogilvie, and J. E. Wool, since promoted col. were also wounded. Killed capt. Nelson of the 6th regt., lieut. Valleau of the 13th regt. and lieut. Rathbone of art. and ensign Morris (brother of capt. Morris, U. S. navy). Owing to the refusal of about 1200 militia to cross over to support the troops, and the flight of the boatmen, and the capture and destruction of others, as well as of great reinforcements of regulars having arrived from Fort George and several hundred Indians from Chippewa, the Americans to the number of 386 regulars and 378 militia total 764, were, after bravely contesting the field, obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Having lost in killed about 90, and 62 regulars and 20

General Smythe's Brigade arrived here yesterday; the Major General has given up the command to the Brigadier and will I am in hopes return to civil life. I think that in a few days we will make them look about them and hope to direct my next from Canada. This is a very poor country,—miserable roads, and nothing to be had for love or money. The land opposite is very inviting, it looks well and I understand they live well. The river between us is not wider than the Schuylkill. We are about six miles below Niagara Falls and within seven of Lake Ontario.

I hope you will answer this immediately and let me know how you all are; I will be very uneasy until I hear. Remember me affectionately to O'B and brother, & give my love to Mary. I could not have believed that my Father and Mother would be so long without writing to me,—give my love to them and tell them their silence is all I have to make me unhappy. Remember me affectionately to the Major and all the family and tell him he has not a moment to lose in drilling his troops and preparing them for the field. This letter will not I am afraid be a very pleasing one, being entirely filled with war, but I assure you we know of nothing else here. Excuse scribbling,—my trunk is my table. I close, expecting to be in action shortly. They have rec'd a reinforcement opposite; we hear a heavy firing from the forts 7 miles distant. Direct to fort Niagara or near it. I remain your affectionate brother,

P. McDonogh.

I have spoken with a great deal of freedom of my officers, which if made public might injure me.

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militia wounded. Officers engaged, gens. Van Renselaer and Wadsworth, cols. Mead, Stranahan, and Allen of the militia, lieut. col. Scott, since general, major Mullany, captains Gibson, Lawrence, and McChesney, lieuts. Carr, Kearny, Hugunin, Sammons, Randolph, Gunsevoort, and Totten and ensign Reeve were in the action. Captain McKeon commanded the south blockhouse of Fort Niagara, whose fire destroyed several houses in the village of Newark. The British loss could not be ascertained, but their gen. Brock was killed by 3 balls, as also his aid, capt. M'Donald." (Vol. ii. p. 283.)

SIXTH LETTER.

BLACK ROCK, Novmb. 15th, 1812.

I yesterday rec'd yours of the 13th. of October and am sorry to hear that my father is still afflicted with the rheumatism—I am afraid he exposes himself too much to the damp weather; and I am no less surprised than happy to find that my mother is well. . . . I cannot account for the detention of your letter on the road; it must have remained some time at Niagara although I had written to the postmaster requesting him to send the letters up immediately on their arrival. I am sorry to hear Denis is no better; I thought the country would have benefited him. He as a soldier knows too well our situation to suppose we have leisure or convenience (for correspondence). When I have something worth telling I will sit down and make his eyes sparkle. Here we are sometimes in grand spirits, at others in the dumps; when there are any signs of crossing we are cheerful, but the thought of passing a dull winter on the banks of the River brings down the lip. Since my last the Infantry were ordered to build huts to quarter in; after they had pitched upon the ground and some companies had struck their tents to march to it, an express arrived from General Dearborn or the Secretary of War which caused the order to be countermanded; and General Smythe in an address to the men of the state of New York says that in a few days we shall plant the American standard in Canada, that we will conquer or die, and that no savages shall cross to tarnish our ungathered laurels by ruthless deeds; before this reaches you it will be in the Philadelphia newspapers.* There was an order issued yesterday that the officers should dress as much like the soldiers as possible, so that they could not be distinguished from them at

* "Brigadier General Smythe addressed the men of New York to volunteer their services for one month to invade Canada." (Shallus, November 10, 1812, vol. ii. p. 379.)

150 paces, and that the soldiers should be drilled in squatting, or lying down and loading their muskets. There are from 1500 to 2000 drafted militia coming on from Pennsylvania, 200 of which, they say, are rifle-men, and that they will all cross. They are within two or three days march of here. After they get a few days drilling we may expect to move. It has been snowing lightly for the three past days, but the bottom not being good the snow has not remained any depth on the ground. I have written to Mr. Armstrong and expect he will answer my letter. My next I hope will be from Canada after a glorious victory. Remember me to Mr. Wetherill and his family, Miss Hannah, all the ladies and all enquiring friends. Give my love to Anne & O'Brien, Mary and the Major, Peter, William & Margaret (I would fain mention the other) and to all the family. Direct to Buffalo—it is within 2½ miles from here.

Dear Parents I am

Your affectionate and dutiful son

P. McDonogh.

P.S.—Roach is getting much stronger—he sits up part of the day. Major Mullany is still here and says he will remain until we get the town mayor opposite to exchange for him.

P. McD.

14th.—I open my letter to mention the probable time the armistice will cease. I have just rec'd orders to go to Niagara with twenty men for the purpose of bringing up all the ammunition & camp equipage there and to have them here by the 20th. at furthest, when you may expect hostile operations will begin.*

* In Shallus (vol. ii.) we find the following facts relating to the interval which elapsed between these two letters: "Nov. 18, 1812.—The American northern army under major gen. Henry Dearborn encamped at Champlain, half a mile from the U. S. and Canadian

Seventh Letter.

Williamsville, December the 14th, 1812.

Dear Parents

I rec'd yours of the 10th this moment and one dated the 17th of last month on the 10th inst. It surprised me to find that Smith, who sutlered for us at Mantua, should furnish you with my bill, as I expected he was coming after us as he promised, & which indeed prevented me from paying him until I could better spare the money. He has, however, found means of adding to the amount as it was originally but 8 dollars, and in saying he lost by the officers of our detachment he said what was infamously false as all but myself settled with him. He might have come on after us to Albany; but we left him in Philad. I give you my word that I have not recd. a cent of pay since I left you nor do I want money more than to settle what little I owe which I will be enabled to do by the time this reaches you, as we expect the Paymaster the latter end of this month or the beginning of next, when I will forward Mr. Smith's account with the money for the boots and about $15 more that I owe. I assure you it was not for want of principle that I did not pay them before. We were led to believe we would get money in Albany but were disappointed. My clothes have held out and we cant starve in the army. I commenced drawing my rations the 16th of this month, Keyler cooks for me, and as good living as bread & beef can give I have.

I looked very anxiously for your letter as I could not persuade myself you were all well and I thought something

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boundary line." "November 23, 1812.—. . . the American Northern army under gens. Dearborn and Bloomfield returned to Plattsburg, and went into winter quarters, the 9th, 11th, 21st, and 25th U. S. inf. went to Burlington; the 6th, 15th, and 16th, remained in Plattsburg; the light artillery and cavalry returned to Greenbush, N. York." "Dec. 2, 1812.—The British again cannonaded Black Rock; which was returned with great spirit by the Americans," etc. From the latter statement it seems that the artillery did not go into winter quarters at the same time as the regiments enumerated above. In Letter Seven Lieutenant McDonogh mentions that they marched from Black Rock on the 11th December and are quartered at Williamsville.

must have happened in the family. I was for two days after writing my last letter (dated I believe the), that I could not drive such thoughts from my mind. I am agreeably disappointed and am quite rejoiced to hear I have so fine a niece and Mary has quite recovered. It gave me no small satisfaction to hear my friends had not forgotten me & particularly the ladies; although excluded at present from their society we can think on them with rapture and anticipate a welcome smile on our return. Mr. Wallace had no cause to be jealous when I wrote to Mr. Armstrong, —he well knew our friendship was not that of a day but I may say from infancy. As to my respected old friend Mr. Wetherill I do not know how to thank him for his good nature: remember me affectionately to all his family —I could mention each name, but when I say *all* I dont wish one to be neglected. I shall write to Mr. Armstrong as soon as we get a little settled here. We are now encamped in the woods, building Huts which we expect to get into by the middle of next month—it is rather late in the season to be in tents. We have a very handsome situation on Elliott's Creek. The place is called after its owner, a Col. Williams of New York. I hear he contemplated building his house next spring on the very ground on which we are building and desired that not a piece of timber should be cut down as he wished it entirely shaded, but I can promise him that by that time there will not be a sapling standing within a mile of it. We marched from Black Rock to this place on the 11th inst. You have heard ere this of the duel that took place on the 12th between Generals Smith & Porter and the latter's statement of facts. Genl. S. has left here on furlough; Col. Porter of the Light Artillery commands in his absence, and as we are 11 miles from the enemy everything is quiet. I am sorry to hear my father is still afflicted with the rheumatism. I did not mention Capt. Barker as I thought my father was

not acquainted with him; if he had been sick I would have let you know,—he is well.* You mention that Biddle is in Phila.; the one that was at Mantua does not belong to our Regt, but to the Third. His brother is a Captain in ours. We left him in Greenbush with his Regt. he seemed quite dejected at parting. Give my love to all the family. I long to see you all.

I am,

Dear Father & Mother, your affectionate son

Patrick McDonogh.

I need not mention that it was not I that commanded the gun boat; no such good luck for us in this quarter,—our hands are tied. Direct to Buffalo, it is the only post town near here—11 miles distant.

Eighth Letter.

Black Rock, March 19th, 1813.

Dear Parents:

I rec'd yours of the 4th inst., and am happy to find that poor Anne is recovering. I really feel for her more than I can describe. . . .

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* Shallus has the following biographical notice of this officer: "Captain James Nelson Barker was born in Philadelphia June 17, 1784. On the commencement of hostilities he was appointed captain of artillery, and in 1813 commanded Fort Mifflin; . . . he raised two companies of artillery and marched with them to the Canadian frontier. It is deeply to be regretted, however, that such was the foothold the horrible practice of duelling had obtained in the army, sanctioned even by a duel between the two commanding generals (A. Smyth and P. B. Porter)," (McD. alludes to it in Letter Seven), "that he was also obliged to engage in one, and was wounded, a ball having passed through both of his thighs, which for several years incapacitated him from active service; he was therefore appointed in 1814 asst. adj. gen. of the 4th. military district. On the return of peace he received the appointment on the peace establishment of deputy adj. gen. of the U. S. with the rank of major, four only of whom were retained in the service. On the resignation in his favor by his father, gen. John Barker, as an alderman by the city of Philad. he was appointed to that situation. [Vol. ii. p. 315, date October 20, 1810, we see in Shallus: "John Barker elected mayor of Philad."] Major Barker has not confined himself to the field of Mars, as a votary of the Muses he has contributed largely to the amusement of the sons of harmony and glee, by a number of patriotic and other songs; and by the amateurs of the drama his 'Indian Princess,' first acted Philad. April 6, 1808; 'Tears and Smiles,' a comedy, first acted 4th March, 1807, and 'Marmion,' a tragedy, first acted April 1812, were received with the most flattering approbation."

On the 16th we received our pay up to the last of December 1812. Through some mismanagement or neglect on the part of the Paymaster we were not paid up to this month, nor will any of the men transferred from Capt. Barker be paid until the paymaster comes round again, which I expect will be in two months, owing to the muster rolls being sent by Col. Porter to the wrong paymaster. If you see the Capt. mention it to him as he is security for them to some amount & requested that I would see it paid.

Being disappointed in my pay, I will not be able to send you the money I expected yet. After paying what I owe here I had but 28 dollars left to purchase some things I was very much in want of. In expectation of receiving what was due to me, I bought several things from Capt. Barker—his bed & bedding &c., and took part in his debts. On his arrival at Albany he enclosed 180 dollars to me to pay the remainder. I mention this for your satisfaction & to show you that I have not been worse off than the other officers, but hope you will not mention it to any one, for should it come to their ears they might feel hurt as the situation of the officers is known to each other only. And in respect to money matters they are to each other as brothers, particularly in our regiment. I thank Col. Scott for the character he gave you of me and hope you will never find me unworthy of it. On the different stations and under the several commanding officers I have been placed I always endeavoured to do my duty & I trust allowed no one to infringe upon my rights, nor did I look to any for favour or partiality. With Col. Scott I was rather reserved as I could not forget his arresting me for so trifling a cause.* He has not a better opportunity of

* Nothing seems to be known about this arrest, except the slight information contained in a letter written many years later by McDonogh's sister Anne to her son at West Point and in his reply to the same. These references will be given later.

knowing who will be promoted than ourselves. It is presumed that those who have friends in Washington to intercede for them will stand the best chance. It is principally on that account that Capt. Barker has gone on. I have written to the Secretary merely to remind him that there is such a person in existence as myself. An officer—let his grade be what it may—is entitled to the attention of his government to his claims or applications; notwithstanding, most is done by favour. . . . I look to next summer to be the happiest of any you have seen for years.

I am anxious to hear how Allen Armstrong and family are.

We had a cannonading here on the 17th inst.* It commenced from an alarm given on the Lake at one o'clock in the morning, and lasted until dark the next evening. There have been several expeditions on foot for crossing, but none has been carried into effect. They are very weak on the opposite side & we are not strong altho double their number on the Niagara [one word torn, probably].

We have had correct information from Genl. Harrison: he has had to entrench, his army being so weakened by the defeat of Winchester and some whose term of service had expired, returning, that an issue of an engagement would have been very doubtful, and perhaps fatal. They were in good spirits, and such was the secrecy observed in camp that the men were ignorant of their own weakness, not a line was permitted to go out of camp.

Father, I wish if you can spare the time you would call on Col. Denis (son-in-law to the District Marshal) who holds my receipts for upwards of 500 dollars, and tell him that I request him to give you a receipt for the settlement of my recruiting accounts or to return my account

* "March 26, 1813.—The American batteries at Black Rock opened their fire on the British, and silenced their lower battery. Americans had one killed and several hurt by accidents." (Shallus.)

with the vouchers and a receipt for the money I returned to him.

Remember me to Mr. Wetherell and family and all enquiring friends and give my love to Anne, Mary, the children and all.

I am, dear father & mother,
Your dutiful son,
P. McDonogh.

Ninth Letter.

Black Rock, April 25th, 1813.

Dear Parents:

It is now nearly two months since the date of the last letter I rec'd from you, and all I fear is that your last letter is lost, as one that came by the last mail directed to me was taken out with the papers by the man we board with and was dropped either in Buffalo or on the road between there and here. I could not blame the old man as it was an accident, and through pure good-nature he took it out of the office, knowing my anxiety to hear from you all and that I expected a letter by every mail—which arrives but twice a week.

I have been very unwell for a week back, but am getting better.

We are fast preparing for the field. I expect that in about four weeks we shall make a move. Our division will consist of about 3500 or 3800 regulars, and I dont think any militia will be called on to cross. Our company is attached to the 2d Brigade, commanded by Genl. Winder; it will be about 1500 strong. Genl. Boyd will have the remainder. Major Genl. Lewis commands the whole. The Generals have all arrived and the troops to make up the complement are expected daily. Things appear to be in better train than they ever were. Col. Scott I think has

been ordered to Sacketts Harbour or he would have been here before now. I have not heard from Capt. Barker or any of my acquaintances since he left here. I hear that Capt. C. has been struck off the rolls; his girl followed him to Carlyle and acted as his waiter in men's clothes. When it was found out an officer applied for his arrest; the Adjutant waited on him for that purpose—he told the Adjutant that he had received a letter from the Adjt. General informing him of his dismissal from the service and, of course, he did not come under martial law.

You may remember that Mr. Ward wrote to me some time since respecting his friend's son (Saml. Wilkins). The young man procured a furlough (or his father for him through Genl. Izard) about the 15th of Feby.; owing to the anxiety his father expressed for him in a letter of thanks to me in December last I, to assist him in getting home, went his security to our landlord for thirty dollars for one month; he has since written to some of the men and never mentioned a word about it. I wish my father would call on Mr. Wilkins and mention the matter to him. Should the son deny it I can procure the note which is in the landlord's hands. Mr. Wilkins lives in Chestnut St. opposite to Strawberry. There have been a great many promotions in the Infantry and some in the 3d regt. of Artillery, but the 2d remains stationary, all that have been promoted were through interest. The 12th & 20th regiments are quite in an uproar; all the subalterns of the 20th have . . . [following word cannot be deciphered, presumably it is "obtained"] their parchment; the Captains of the 12th have drawn up a memorial and had it signed by a great many officers on this station, and one of the Captains has gone on with it to remonstrate. A first lieutenant of our regiment has been promoted to a captaincy in the 20th, a Thomas M. Randolph,—a fine fellow but he has no military turn. He had very powerful friends. I mention this

to you—it is a very delicate thing to talk of an officer out of the army. I have no other chance of promotion than what may fall to my lot in the field—a few balls might make some vacancies.

You may guess how anxious I am to hear from you all particularly Anne, as she was not well at the date of your last letter. If you do not answer this at once . . . [obliterated] it will arrive in time for me to get it here. Give my love to all the family, the children and all my friends, and believe me to be

Your affectionate & dutiful son

P. McDonogh.

Tenth Letter.

Newark, May the 30th, 1813.

Dear Parents:

It is with pleasure I inform you that we are at last in Canada. We embarked for this place in boats and crossed on the 27th. The enemy met us on the shore and made a very obstinate resistance for about 15 minutes when they retreated to Queenstown Heights, spiking their guns and destroying their stores and ammunition as they went. Fort George having been previously burned almost to ashes by hot shot from our Fort and batteries, was evacuated on our approach. We might have taken them all prisoners were it not that our Generals advanced too cautiously, being apprehensive of explosions. Their loss was double that of ours in killed and wounded. Captain Roach has been slightly touched again, in the right arm. As he was without a command Col. Scott gave him the command of a three-pounder with eight men from our company. On the 28th we proceeded on our march towards Fort Erie thinking they would make a stand there, but on our arrival at Queenstown found that they had taken a different route, blown up their

Fort, and were drawing their forces towards York. Our Brigade was immediately ordered to cross by water to cut off their retreat to Kingston. We were all embarked this morning at daylight, but the wind being very high and against us, the General countermanded the order, considering it too great a risk in open boats, as it is almost impossible for a boat to live on the Lake when there is any kind of a swell. We are to march around by land tomorrow—or next day at farthest. The roads, they say, are very bad. The distance around the head of the Lake to York is from ninety to one hundred miles.*

This is a delightful place. The people had evacuated it but are returning daily. They are generally loyal for a few miles back.

I rec'd your two last letters. It surprised me very much to hear of my sisters' situation, and did I not know that you were all so near them I should be very unhappy. I would advise them to go to the country for a few weeks this summer.

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* "May 26, 1813.—Cannonade between Forts George and Niagara, and bombardment from all the batteries." (Shallus, vol. i. p. 262.) "May 27th, 1813.—The American army under generals Boyd, Lewis, Winder, and Chandler, landed in Canada under cover of the fire from Chauncey's fleet, and carried by assault Fort George . . . The artillery under the brave lieut. col. Moses Porter (since general) . . . The British blew up their magazines. Of the Americans, capt. Roach, lieut. Hobart, and 38 infantry were killed." (Shallus, vol. i. p. 265.) Lieutenant McDonogh mentions Captain Roach as wounded,—'slightly touched again, in the right arm." "May 28th, 1813.—Captain Oliver Perry, despatched from Fort George with 50 seamen to Black Rock to take 5 vessels to Lake Erie. Same day, lieut. col. James P. Preston of the 12th U. S. regt. took possession of Fort Erie, Canada; the British having previously abandoned it and blown up the magazine. Same day, a fleet of American barges coming round Stoney Point, Lake Ontario, with troops from Oswego, attacked by the boats and barges of the British fleet, under Sir James L. Yeo, and captured 12 which had been run on shore and abandoned. The remaining 7 arrived safe." "May 29th, 1813.—British under commodore sir J. L. Yeo and lieut. gen. Prevost attacked Sackett's Harbour, defended by Jacob Brown, then brig. gen. of New York militia; they were repulsed . . . Through misinformation, but agreeable to previous orders, lieut. Chauncey, who commanded the small naval force, at the mouth of the harbour, set fire to the navy barracks and stores. Same day, gen. Dearborne put 23 British prisoners into confinement as *hostages*, for the safety of some naturalized citizens captured by the British at Queenstown who were sent to England for trial." Same letter.—"York had been captured on April 27, 1813, by the Americans under Genl. Pike. They evacuated it May 8, 1813; burnt the blockhouses, barracks, and King's stores." (Shallus.) "June 1, 1813.—Gen. Winder left Fort George for the Beaver dams, where he was joined on the 3d by gen. Chandler." (Shallus, vol. ii.)

When I spoke of the dull winter I spent in this country I did not mean that I was tired of the army,—on the contrary, nothing could please me better, particularly when we are on the move. You need not write to me again until you hear from me as I cannot tell you where to direct;—should you have anything of moment, by addressing your letter to Fort Niagara, to be forwarded to General Winder's Brigade, I may get it, but it is doubtful. Give my love to my sisters, brothers,* the children & all the family, and tell them how anxious I am to see them all. Remember me to Mr. Wetherell & family, and believe me, dear Father and Mother, you are always uppermost in my thoughts.

Your affectionate & dutiful son

P. McDonogh.

P.S.—I had nearly forgotten to mention that there was an account standing between Mr. Wallace and me, but I really did not know how it was. I would be glad if my father could get the $30 from Wilkins and pay him out of it. I have taken up his note.

Eleventh Letter.

Fort George, August 4th, 1813.

Dear Parents:

Mr. Steele who will hand you this has been good enough to call on me for a letter. I have nothing worth writing to you about except to tell you I am well and that we still remain here doing nothing, nor do I know when we shall move—Our fleet is now lying off this place expecting the British fleet every hour. We hear they are building another forty-four gun ship; if so, I do not think they will venture out until she is finished. Col. Scott went on an expedition

* Brothers-in-law. He had one brother, Joseph, who, after making several voyages to India on merchant vessels as supercargo, finally disappeared and was never heard of again by his family.

to the head of the Lake and from there to York in search of British stores; but it seems they were apprised of our intentions before the fleet reached there, as they had almost everything removed. We took 4 or 500 barrels of flour and some of the officers' baggage at York, burnt their barracks, and returned.* It is reported here that Genl. Wilkinson & the Secretary at War are coming on,—if this be true, we may yet do something. Genl. Williams arrived here some days back; he commands our Brigade. I think if things go on no better than they have done, I shall be ashamed to return to Philadelphia next winter even should I get permission to do so. War characters must rank mighty low there.

Give my love to my sisters, brothers and all the family. Whenever there is anything like a move here I shall lose no time before making you acquainted with it. I look for a letter from you every day in answer to my last. Remember me to all inquiring friends, and, dear Father & Mother, I remain

Your affectionate & dutiful son
PATRICK MCDONOGH.

P.S.—I called to see Mr. John Wallace to-day; he is very unwell; should any of his family enquire for him you can tell them he still remains in the Fort. Col. Scott has resigned his appointment as Adjutant Genl.

THE 5th.

I have just received Anne's letter and shall answer it in a day or two. She enquires for Wm. Peters: he was wounded at the battle of Stony Creek—in the shoulder, and has had his arm taken off at the socket.† The others,

* In Shallus' Tables, under date of July 31, 1813, we find: "British took Plattsburgh. Same day Com. Chauncey landed Col.—since Genl. Scott, with 150 Infantry and Capt. Crane's U. S. Artillery, who captured York, Upper Canada," etc.

† Lieutenant McDonogh here alludes to the battle of Stony Creek, but omits any mention of his participation in it. This is what Shallus has to say about that action: "June 5 and 6, 1813.—In the night, the Americans under generals Winder and Chandler, surprised

with the exception of Humphries, of whom I know nothing, are well. I wish I could recommend Lt. P. to your at-

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and attacked at Stoney Creek, 10 miles in advance of 40 mile creek, Canada, by the British under general Vincent, who were defeated, but they succeeded in capturing generals Winder and Chandler, with deputy quarter master general Vandeventer and 180 men. The Americans lost 5 cannon; one of which was recovered by lieut. McChesney, and another by lieut. McDonogh, U. S. artillery; a howitzer was also retaken but abandoned, after knocking off the trunnions. Of the Americans about 30 were killed. The British col. Clarke was mortally wounded, and about 100 of the 49th regt. taken, their whole loss amounted to about 250. Capt. Van Vechten commanded the advance guard of the Americans, col. Burn the cavalry; artillery, capt. Towson (now col.) with capts. Hindman, Nicholas, Thos. Biddle (now major) and Archer. The 16th U. S. regt. was commanded by capt. Steele, 23d U. S. regt. under major Armstrong. The 5th and 25th were also engaged. Lieut. Riddle took capt. Manners, of the 49th, in his bed sick, and paroled him, but as soon as he recovered his health, he appeared in arms against the Americans without being exchanged." (Vol. ii. p. 285.)

We also gather these items about what transpired from this date until that of the next letter: June 8th, 1813.—"Americans under gen. Lewis broke up their encampment by order of gen. Dearborne, and returned to Fort George. The British succeeded in dispersing the boats with the baggage belonging to his command, and captured 12 of them." (Vol. ii. p. 292.)

June 12, 1813.—"*Daring enterprise*—major Chapin together with other American prisoners who had been taken at the head of the lake, were sent in two boats for Kingston, under guard of a lieutenant and some soldiers: when they got within 12 miles of York, the major and his men rose on their guard, and after a short struggle took the boats, and returned to Niagara. Chapin knocked down the lieut. and had a personal encounter with 2 of the soldiers whom he overcame." (Vol. ii. p. 301.)

June 16, 1813.—"Lieutenant Chauncey, in the schooner Lady of the Lake, captured off Presque Isle, the British schooner Lady Murray, with provisions and ammunition for York, in Canada."

July 8, 1813.—"The British and Indians attacked two of the outposts of the American encampment at Fort George. Lieut. Eldridge of the 13th inf. with 39 men was ordered to support the posts, whilst a larger force was preparing to follow him under col. Malcolm, he fell into an ambush and after an obstinate struggle, was defeated and taken prisoner; five only of his men escaped; 13 were killed or wounded and the rest taken, all of whom with the brave lieut. Eldridge were put to death by the Indians with great barbarity. In consequence of this event and other outrages, general Brown received into the service of the U. States a party of Seneca and Tuscarora (?) Indians under United States major Henry O'Beille, or the Young Cornplanter. He was educated at the university in Philad. and is the son of the Cornplanter, grand chief of the Seneca nation, who was a most decided and undeviating friend to the Americans. It is a singular fact, and which ought not to be overlooked, that the old Cornplanter wore a long beard; a very uncommon case among the Indians. The fact is known and vouched for by the compiler, who has been with him very frequently." (Shallus, vol. i. p. 23.)

July 15, 1813.—"Major gen. Hen. Dearborn, resigned the command of his army at Fort George, Up. Canada, to brig. gen. Boyd." (Ibid., p. 38.)

July 17, 1813.—"A small number of volunteers and about 40 soldiers from Fort George, in 2 small row boats, captured at the head of the river St. Lawrence, a British gun boat mounting a 24 pounder and 14 batteauxs, laden with 230 barrels of pork, and 200 bags of bread, and took 4 officers and 61 men. . . . Same day British and Indians made an attack on an outwork of the American garrison at Fort George, but were repulsed."

July 31, 1813.—"British under col. Murray took Plattsburg without opposition. They destroyed the block house, arsenal, armory, public hospital and military cantonment; also burnt a number of private store houses and carried off large quantities of private prop-

tention; if I could have done it I would have written by him, but he left here in disgrace; the officers of his regt. were about arresting him, one of the charges against him being cowardice. I tell you this to caution you as his character did not stand very high before he entered the service. I was not intimate with him—we merely spoke when we met. You know how delicate we should be about meddling with an officer's reputation as a soldier, and of course will not make this public. I assure you it hurts me when I think that any one but the family should read my letters.

P. McDONOGH.

TWELFTH LETTER.

FORT GEORGE, Augt. 9th, 1813.

MY DEAR SISTER:

The receipt of your letter of the 26th. of July afforded me inexpressible pleasure as it was the best proof I could have of your recovery from so tedious an illness. I regret you did not go out with Mary as I think the country air would restore your health and of course revive your spirits. The description you have given me of the children has quite delighted me; if I could be more partial to one than to another I think Margaret would be the favourite, but I love them [torn]. Could I have absented myself from camp for a day or two to procure some Indian presents for them I would have sent them by Mr. Steele. I rejoice to hear that my Mother looks so young and healthy. I fear by the time I return I shall be so war-worn & weather-beaten that

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erty. They sailed from thence to Swanton. Same day" (see McDonogh Letter Eleven) "Commodore Isaac Chauncey, landed col. since gen. Scott with 150 inf. and capt. Crane's U. S. artillery, who captured York, Upper Canada. They took several 100 barrels of flour and provisions, shot, shells and other stores, 5 cannon and 11 boats. Next day they destroyed the public property, burnt the barracks, which had been spared on its capture April 27, and brought away with them all they could find of col. Boestler's sick and wounded men who had been taken at the Beaver Dams, June 24th, and returned safe to Fort George Aug. 3." (Ibid., p. 73.)

I shall disgrace you all in looks. It is a satisfaction to me to know you think I have behaved well but you must not be too lavish in gratitude to those that say I have done my duty as a soldier.—I hope we shall never be under an obligation to any one for saying so:—it would have pleased me more if you had said they could not say otherwise.

We (the 2d Brigade) were to have embarked on board the fleet on Saturday last, where for we knew not, but judged for Kingston: the sudden appearance of the British fleet changed the scene!—at daylight they were discovered 8 or 10 miles from here, rather above us;—they came up during the night along their own shore & cut across it is supposed with the intention to surprise and board our ships which were at anchor 4 miles below here;—they succeeded in getting to windward but daylight appeared too soon for them to do more. Our gallant Commodore immediately weighed anchor and made for them notwithstanding their favorable position but could not bring them to action. Sir James' * object now appeared to be to get us in a position where he could attack the P[ ] with two vessels at once, but Chauncy manœuvred too well for him and had the wind been in his favour, would have brought him to action long before this,—but the wind has been constantly wavering or shifting, and as if it were to be [allied(?) illegible] against him. He is yet in pursuit of them. I think before I close this I will be enabled to give you an account of the battle in spite of Sir James' endeavour to avoid it.

I am sorry to say that two of our schooners upset in a gale the night before last (the Paul Hamilton & the Scourge, commanded by Lieutenants Winters & Osgood) while hanging on the left of the British fleet, and the officers and sixty of the crew are lost.†

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* Sir James Yeo.

† The incidents here referred to are thus verified in Shallus's Tables: "August 7, 1813.—Commodores Isaac Chauncey and Sir Jas. L. Yeo's fleets came in sight of each

On Friday last I dined on board the Growler, commanded by Lt. Deacon, son-in-law to Mrs. Hutchins of Burlington. He with three or four other officers of my acquaintance were to partake of a camp dinner with me the following day, but they found better fish to fry. If you see any one that is acquainted with Lt. Deacon's family, let them know he was well at that date, as his wife I am sure will be uneasy about him.

You say you will write every week:—I hope you will satisfy me this is more than an idle promise. I do sometimes feel as if my father has forgotten me, owing to his silence, although I know my Mother's letters are from both and I really do so consider them.

I am well satisfied I have the friendship and esteem of J. O'B. and of J. M., & I do assure you I look upon them as my brothers. If I have not written to them it was not through any lack of affection but from a natural dislike I have to writing—which I believe you all know. Remember me affectionately to them, to Miss Mary —— to whom I feel much indebted for her kind attentions to you, to Thomas M. & all enquiring friends. Mr. Wetherill I feel particularly grateful to for the interest he takes in my welfare, & hope I shall always merit his friendship,—remember me to him & family. Let me hear how Mr. Powel is, & tell them I am anxious to see them all.

I have answered your inquiries about the men in my letter sent by Mr. Steele;—if you let the men's wives torment you, you will have more than enough to do,—their husbands have plenty of time to write and every convenience, and indeed

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other on Lake Ontario, British 6 sail, Americans 12 sail, mostly small vessels. Chauncey chased unsuccessfully. In the night the Am. schooners Hamilton and Scourge of 9 guns each, sunk in a squall,—lieut. Winter and sailing master Osgood and a number of fine seamen perished, only 16 men were saved."

"August 10, 1813.—Partial action in the night from 11 until 1 A.M. on the 11th between American commodore Isaac Chauncey and British commodore sir James Lucas Yeo, on lake Ontario. Yeo succeeded in cutting off and captured schrs. Julia, 3 guns, sailing master Trent, and Growler, 5 guns, lt. David Deacon. Growler had one killed."

the majority of them do write, and they receive more or less mail every week.

Tuesday, Augt. 10th.

This is the fourth day the fleets have been in sight of each other and no engagement yet! We are all anxiety here and will be so until we know the issue. I can detain this no longer the mail goes to-night. Write often. Give my love to my father, mother & Mary. In haste—I am

Your affectionate brother,

P. McDonogh.

P.S.—I fear this letter is illy calculated to rouse your spirits, but you must consider I am getting old & conceit it is from an old man * and that we have to divide our time—begin writing in the morning & before you are well seated you have to attend a call of the pickets, or other party. I was out all the afternoon & had a few shots at the Indians, but I believe they are very weak in this neighborhood now as they will not stand a fight. Ours are coming over to-morrow or next day to the number of four or five hundred.

(Signed) P. McD.

Thirteenth Letter.

Fort George, Septr. 10th, 1813.

Dear Parents

I have long looked for a letter from you & were it not for Anne's good-nature would be very uneasy about you. This will be handed to you by Capt. Biddle of our regt. I know you will be glad to see him; he is a friend of mine, has served in the same engagements, partaken of the same hardships as well as of the same glory, and is a brave officer —I say this as I know you can judge how much it tends to unite and attach fellow-soldiers to each other. He can

* As well as it can be computed, he was not yet thirty years of age.

give you an account of our present situation & of what we may expect to do this campaign.—I fear it will not end before the winter sets in; however we are soldiers & bound for all weathers.

I mentioned the death of Wm. Peters in my last letter to Anne, since which I have rec'd a letter from Mrs. Peters. I can feel for her situation, but I assure you Mother we have so many applications of the same kind by almost every mail that were we to attend to them or encourage them, our pay would not cover the cost of postage on all we would receive; and this is not for one person, nor for once, but for five years and for one hundred persons to each company. Nor are they ever satisfied; if it is not for their pay or to know whether they are alive, its to procure them a furlough;—whenever they can find out an officer's name & address, they are not at a loss for excuses to torment him.

I wish very much to know to which regt. Mr. Wale is appointed. I am sorry he didn't get a higher grade, but we must look forward and hope. I think since the Senate has attended to the Army that promotions will not go altogether by favour. Nothing can hurt the pride of a soldier who has seen service and is acquainted with his duty more than to put over him a favourite that he has to teach.

It is late and I must conclude. My love to my father. Remember me to all enquiring friends—my old one Mr. Wetherill in particular.

Adieu dear Mother

Your affectionate son,

P. McDonogh.

Fourteenth Letter.

Fort George, Sept. 10th, 1813.

Dear Sister:

Although I have so lately written to you and have so little to say, I cannot lose so favourable an opportunity of for-

warding by Capt. Biddle of our regiment a line, knowing the constant anxiety of your mind.

In my last I mentioned the arrival of Genl. Wilkinson: he has as yet been confined to his room by sickness, but is recovering fast. Commodore Chauncy sailed on the morning of the 7th. Sir James, then off this place, made every sail, leaving the Commodore to follow, who, you may be sure, is much mortified to find he cannot bring him to action. There are but few of our vessels that can sail as well as those of the British and they have to tow the duller sailers, which I fear will prevent him from ever coming up with them. We lost sight of them with the twilight this evening about three miles apart,—every inch of canvas spread,—Chauncy still in pursuit & before the wind.

I fear in my letter before last I expressed my opinion of Lt. P. in terms too harsh; as I thought I had a pretty correct knowledge of his character I did not hesitate to let you know it, lest by a smooth story he might lead you to believe, through a pretended friendship for me, that he was entitled to the attentions of the family. By a letter from an officer in Philadelphia to one of the same regt. here, I find he has traduced some meritorious officers—probably he has gone into the other extreme in regard to me,—I would rather not be mentioned by such people. My particular reason for mentioning him to you was that he married an amiable and respectable girl of Phila., & treated her in such a way that her father would not permit her to live with him. He was universally despised. Contrary to my wish I have entered into this subject fully, but I know it is between ourselves and will go no farther.

I would have written to J. O'B. by Capt. B., but as you informed me you were in the country I concluded he must be turned topsy-turvy;—remember me to him affectionately. You must not expect any more information from me respecting military movements, as to give such is strictly for-

bidden by a late order of Genl. Wilkinson, but you shall hear from me constantly let me be moved where I may. I am well in health, & well content in mind; I get more attached to the service every day, and more reconciled to the privations & toils attending it. I look anxiously for quartering in Montreal next winter & until the British gentry are sent home you must be content with all the affection ink and paper can convey from

Your brother,

P. McDonogh.

Fifteenth Letter.

Fort George, October 8th, 1813.

Dear Sister—

I had nearly concluded before I received your last that you had totally forgotten your promise, since which I must acknowledge you have only done so in part, as you edge in a letter now and then as it were to prevent my spirits from completely deserting me. I was much diverted with the dryness of your quip respecting Matilda Mason; had she not been a child, I would probably have thought you were in earnest. But why apologize for any freedom you would take with me? When my ill-nature is such as to prevent me from taking a jest in good part from my sister, I shall consider myself unworthy of her. But let me observe that should I ever get entangled in matrimony (which by the bye I should have no objection to, in proper season), reason shall have no small share in my counsel: when I add a wife to the family I trust she will be one my sisters will be pleased with as a sister, & my parents as a daughter. You must have misunderstood Mrs. Mason,—she has not written to me. I have received a letter from her brother,

(Mr. Thos. Wallace), respecting John Wallace in the army, which I have answered.

I am happy to hear that Perry's Victory has spread so much joy throughout the United States,—it looks something like recompense for his gallantry.* Poor Chauncy I fear will never get half the credit he deserves; he has done as much as man could do in his situation.

I am at a loss to know whether I should express joy or not at Mr. Wale's not accepting of his appointment. I am aware the great share of patriotism and military spirit he possesses would render the profession very agreeable to him, but the subordinate grade he would serve in would not be very gratifying to his pride or ambition as a soldier. You have not mentioned the regiment or establishment he was appointed in, whether the old or new.

I have some small recollection of Mr. . . . [torn] but was not acquainted with his sisters. Mr. Hickman I knew well. I admire Mr. M.'s conduct very much. Major D. I suppose cuts a great figure in Philadelphia,—I would advise him to remain there,—his appointment is very unpopular in the army. I am glad to hear LeGrand has obtained an appointment; he is a fine young fellow & I have complaints of the shortness of my letters; it is so seldom that anything occurs here that is worth relating, or that could afford her any amusement, that when I have told all

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* Perry's victory took place September 10, 1813. Shallus records: "Sept. 24, 1813.—Great rejoicings in Philadelphia on account of Perry's victory on lake Erie. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated." "September 11, 1813.—Running action between the American commodore Isaac Chauncey on lake Ontario, and British commodore sir Jas. Lucas Yeo. Sir James succeeded in getting into Amherst bay; capt. Mulcaster of the Royal George was killed." "Oct. 2, 1813.—Gen. Wilkinson with the largest portion of his army left Fort George, commanded by col. since gen. Scott, for Grenadier Island. Lieut. col. Richard Dennis was left in command at Sackett's Harbour." "Oct. 5, 1813.—American commodore Isaac Chauncey captured five British schooners on lake Ontario, and burnt one sloop, abandoned by the British, and one gun boat that they ran on shore; he took 252 prisoners." The engagement between American and British spoken of in same letter is not mentioned in Shallus. But under date of October 9, 1813, we find: "British broke up their cantonments before fort George, and marched rapidly for Burlington bay, which they reached on the 11th."

I can of myself I am at a loss for a subject. I hope Mrs. Mason or the neighbors do not read my letters. I know you will say I am very singular: be that as it may, nothing could so much diminish the pleasure I take in corresponding with you all;—you will be candid enough to let me know in your next.

The Militia and Indians under Major Chapin had a desperate engagement with a party of the British on the afternoon of the 6th inst. It lasted about two hours and a half. After expending some thousand rounds of cartridges, this brilliant affair ended with the loss on our part of one Indian killed, one mortally wounded and one slightly, one regular soldier who stole out to have a finger in the pie was also slightly wounded, & militia none—being rather prudent: the loss on the part of the British were, I suppose, half the number. From the list of killed and wounded you may guess the distance from which they fought. It appears those that fell were considered foolhardy by the Militia for advancing within point blank distance. They never return from a skirmish wherein the Indians have had anything to do, without accusing the Major of cowardice, skulking behind trees, not advancing, &c. But he has made noise enough to fill a column of the newspaper, and his fame of course will be reiterated,—if you dont see an extract from the *Buffalo Gazette* shortly I shall be very much disappointed. We have just fired a salute from the Fort in consequence of the victory obtained by the Argus over the Barba. I cannot tell you whether I shall remain here or not—it will depend entirely upon circumstances. Col. Scott & all the officers are anxious to go as it is pretty certain we shall not be attacked here. We learn from deserters that the British are sending their troops, with the exception of 500 (which they leave, I suppose, for the purpose of preventing us from sleighing or going at large this winter) to Kingston, and they will not be foolish enough to attack us with

so small a force; nor would I wish them to attempt it with less than would fill our ditches. We can attempt nothing—even if our regular force would justify us in so doing, as Col. Scott's positive orders are not to suffer himself to be drawn out of the Fort on any terms whatever, or to permit an officer to leave it.

I received the papers with Mr. Wetherill's note at the bottom; remember me to him and give him my thanks for his prayers &c. I reciprocate his good wishes. Tell Mary I shall not listen to any of her complaints unless I have them from her own hand; until then I think the less she says about writing the better. Tell Mr. O'B. I anxiously look for the arrival of his letter; give my love to Mary & the children—tell them I am not out of all hopes of seeing them this winter,—nothing but quartering in Montreal could satisfy me for being absent from Philadelphia;—give my love to my father & mother, and believe me to be

Your affectionate brother,

P. McDonogh.

Orders.

Sacketts Harbor, Dec. 10, 1813.

Sir:

You will repair as speedily as possible to District No. 4, establish a Rendezvous at any point your judgment may suggest, & prosecute the recruiting service with great diligence for the 2nd. U. S. Artillery. Upon your arrival report yourself to the Commanding Officer of the district, draw funds & receive his instructions. You will be careful, Sir, & not suffer your recruits to be attached to any other corps or company than that to which you belong. Accept

my good wishes for your success, & prosperity & health of family

Yours very respectfully,

J. Hindman

Major Cm'g. Detacht. 2nd U. S. Artillery.

P.S.—These orders are by instructions from the War Depart.

Lt. McDonogh
2d U. S. Artly.

Sixteenth Letter.

Utica, December 13th, 1813.

Dear Parents—

I am happy to inform you that I am in hopes of eating my Christmas dinner with you;—I have just this moment arrived from the Harbour on my way to Philadelphia. Will leave here to-morrow morning for Albany, where I may probably be detained two days, but will lose no time after that in getting to Philadelphia where I am in hopes of meeting you all well and happy. Give my love to all the family.

Adieu dear father & mother.

Your affectionate & dutiful son,

P. McDonogh.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN TOWSON TO LIEUTENANT McDONOGH.

Sacketts Harbor, Decr. 25th, 1813.

Dear Mc.—

I expect you are now shaving, cleaning your teeth, & putting on a clean shirt, in honour of the day, & to appear more desirable in the eyes of some fair Dulcina, whom you expect to help to the side bone of a turkey with oyster sauce,

&c., &c., &c., drink a glass of old Madeira with the old gentleman, and then attend Miss to some of the many of pleasure your gay city affords. My dear boy I wish you every pleasure that Christmas, & every happiness that life possesses.

I too have scraped my face with a dull razor, put on a clean, tho ragged, shirt, but alas! have neither pretty girls to visit nor fat turkeys to carve.—I have just received a formal petition *from:* & have granted permission to a party of my company to celebrate the day; they have bespoke a dinner at a public house (the best our Town affords), have elected a President & V. P.,—proposed toasts with all the hilarity & independence of true Americans. Poor Devils, they see hard times enough and deserve, if any men do, the privilege of sweetening the bitter cup of life that has fallen to their lots.

I received your letter & money inclosed by post. The paymaster has not visited us since, much to our mortification you may suppose. But why the Devil did you pay the postage on your letter, & why did you not retain the price of the Book I purchased of you! There appears to me an unfriendly suspicion that our letters will not be agreeably received when we pay the postage—a suspicion that would be very unjust & I hope never will be entertained by you of me.

I have very confortable quarters where I now am,—my men are healthy & in fine spirits, tho the other Troops are very sickly. Genl. Wilkinson has ordered all the troops from this post to French Mills except Genl. Harrison's & the Artillery. The Genl. has issued some very severe Orders on the conduct of most of the Genl. officers & of a Court Martial. I have not seen them. Colo. Mitchell is with the army & very unwell I am told. Majr. Johnson is dead. Colo. Scott mentions in a letter to Majr. Hindman that Genl. W. promised to send me a furlough, the Majr. re-

ceived this letter on our return from Ogdensburg but never told me of it until the day before yesterday. However I could not leave this now since you have left me.

I wish you to enjoy every pleasure Phila. affords but you must tax your leisure moments for an *half hour now and then* to afford pleasure to your old brother soldier by dropping a letter to him (*without the postage paid*).

Yours ever, with the warmest friendship,

N. TOWSON.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PHILA. 19 Jan. 1814.

DR. SIR,

By the morning Report of the day, I find there are 22 reported sick—such of these as are really sick must remain —and the company must be filled up by the Detachments of other artillery corps; and these not being sufficient, by volunteers from such other corps as may be most advantageous to the public service.—I wish you to arrange this while below—the public service must supercede all other considerations. I trust to your making this arrangement so effective as that it may be at once issued in an order.

I am Dr. Sir

Your obed. servt.

WM. DUANE

Adj. Gen.

LT. MCDONOGH

2d. Artillery

Fort Miflin.

4TH. MILITARY RECRUITING DISTRICT

PHILADA. Jan'y 19, 1814.

SIR

You will turn over to Lieut. Bunting your Rendezvous, with all the funds & public property in your hands, which

has been furnished you for the recruiting service, and take his receipts.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Yr obt. servt.
J. Gibson
Inspr. Genl. Comm'dg.

Lieut. Patk. McDonogh, 2nd Artillery, Phila.

PIERRE GIBAULT, PRIEST AND PATRIOT

OF THE

NORTHWEST IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By PAULINE LANCASTER PEYTON.*

The statesmen who founded the great North American Republic after the war for independence, moulded a nation that was an alloy of various elements. The English constituent gave it durability and force, the requisites for future prosperity, so that one is prone to disregard the lesser elements in the formation period. However, importance is not necessarily correlative with numbers; location and peculiar circumstances often give the few a conspicuous place. The French, who occupied the last slope westward from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, bounded on the north by the Great Lakes and on the south by the Ohio, held in their hands the fate of the expedition of General George Rogers Clark, and this campaign started the westward course of empire.

The conquest of the Northwest Territory was a stepping-stone to the acquisition of Louisiana, and the Louisiana purchase in time led to the additions of territory that have placed our national boundaries where we now find them. An intimation from the humblest Kaskaskian would have brought down the tomahawk of the devoted savage upon Clark's little band, whose undertaking seems foolhardiness

* Early last year, as our readers will recall, a prize (of $100) was offered by this Society, through the liberality of Mr. Martin Maloney (one of our members), for the best essay on an American Catholic historical subject. (Records, xi. 111, 112.) This prize has now been awarded to Miss Pauline Lancaster Peyton, a graduate of St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana.

in prospective; or the word of a faithless trader have made that dreary march to Vincennes a childish pantomime. Hence the neutrality, the friendship of the Kaskaskians who represented the French element, was a condition of success. In such an element at such a point, a single man often stands out, interesting in his personal character, as well as typical of those for whom he acts. Father Pierre Gibault, Vicar-General for the Bishop of Quebec, in the Illinois and Louisiana missions, stands for the French-Canadian element in the United States. When we have defined his attitude in this second transfer of government to alien hands, we have an accurate idea of how the French met the problems of the day, how they compared in calibre with their Teuton neighbors, the effect of the change upon them, and their reactionary influence upon the metal with which they were compounded. An answer for each of these is found in a study of the personality of the "patriot-priest."

In ancestry, he was one of the French-Americans. There was a generation of them before him. During the reign of the Grand Monarch, when things were valued only because they could pour *louis d'or* into the royal coffers, Colbert, in his colossal financial schemes, did not overlook the resources of Canada. Old St. Malo for more than a century * had been sending out her tiny fleets yearly, to return laden with cod from the exhaustless Newfoundland fisheries, and Basques frequented the same treasure ground; hardy Bretons hunted down the walrus for ivory tusks; *coureurs de bois* traced the arteries of the great continent in birchen canoes, fearless alike of nature or native, and came back again, at the end of the season, to Tadoussac with boats piled high with beaver and seal and ermine, to load the ships for home. But these industries were carried on on a small scale. What were not personal enterprises of the merchants

* Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 200.

in that great commercial renaissance were primitive attempts made under the authority of religious orders, who cared more for the soul of the Indian than for the treasures of his country. So minister represented the state of things to monarch, and Canada was changed from an ecclesiastical mission to a secular government in 1663.* The French West India Company tried its hand at colonizing, and failed immediately after the change had been made; for when the crown resumed possession, the whole population numbered only eight thousand. † Immigration was now encouraged by a minister of energy and sagacity, and among those who came with the flood-tide was Gabriel Gibault. ‡ He brought his young wife with him from Old France to settle in Quebec, at this time the capital of the royal province of that name, a vast domain bounded by New Mexico and Canada, and extending in all directions as far as the sources of the rivers that flow into the Mississippi. §

There is a record of the marriage of Pierre Gibault, the son of this pioneer, to Marie-Joseph Saint-Jean, in 1735, at Sorel, a small town two-thirds of the distance from Quebec to Montreal up the river. Pierre, their first child, was born in 1737 at Montreal. Of his early surroundings and the influences active in forming his character, we can only conjecture, but the family was large, and in reduced circumstances, so the little Pierre must early have learned lessons of privation and endurance. When he decided to devote his life to the service of God, the means to procure him the education of a priest were lacking. He went to Quebec, and the Messieurs of the Seminary agreed to accept him at their own expense. At the age of twenty-nine, he received the tonsure and minor orders in the Jesuit College in the same city, and

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* *History of Upper and Lower Canada* (R. M. Martin), chap. i.
† Larned's *Hist. Encycl.*, vol. i.
‡ Archives of Quebec.
§ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 4.

later was made subdeacon in the Chapel of the Hospital-General. He returned to the Seminary to be created deacon, and on the feast of St. Joseph, 1768, he was ordained in the Ursuline Chapel. Immediately, Monsignor Briand commissioned him Vicar-General of the Illinois country, but subordinate to Father Sebastian Meurin, who held the vicarship of Louisiana as well.*

This precipitate appointment gives material for inference. The need of a priest in that portion of the diocese, since civil conditions had been altered by the war which deprived France of her colonial possessions, was urgent. To value rightly the way in which this was met, one must have an idea of the field in which the young missionary came to labor, the spirit with which he undertook the enterprise, and the influence exerted upon him by traditions of the French-American priesthood.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Frenchmen, who watched the drift of events in America, saw that the strip of seaboard occupied by the thriving English colonies would soon cease to satisfy its tenants. Eventually they would push their way into the interior of the continent, and France lose the fertile plain that belonged to her by right of discoveries of Marquette and La Salle. The intercolonial wars of the previous decades were a warning. To check this westward extension of the English frontier, the French built a line of forts from Canada to the Gulf, following the principal waterways, which were the safest means of communication in those early days. Detroit was the first link; La Mothe Cadillac laid the foundations of the city in 1701. From here, traders, travelling overland part of the time, reached the head-waters of the Wabash, descended that stream to the Ohio, followed its course to the Mississippi, and then the way was clear to the Gulf. By the old route

* Archives of Quebec.

used by La Salle the voyagers passed through Lake Huron, the straits of Mackinac, to the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, down the St. Joseph, made portage at the site of South Bend, then down the Kankakee and Illinois,* till his line of travel coincided with the new route in the Illinois region. This juncture of ways had been frequented by Canadians since the time of La Salle and Fort Crèvecœur. After his establishment had been destroyed by an Iroquois invasion, and the friendly tribes with which he had surrounded himself once more scattered or returned to their old homes in Indiana, petty fur-traders overran the country, and some few Canadians, attracted by the fertility of the soil, established themselves here. A group of small towns on this site grew steadily in number and importance. The seat of government vacillated between Quebec, New Orleans, and Montreal, with intermediate authority at Fort Chartres and Detroit, and ultimate power at Paris. The priest never abandoned the region after the time of Marquette. Kaskaskia was the centre of his administration. In 1688, Father James Gravier opened a parish register which is the oldest record of the State of Illinois,† and, eleven years later, Father Marest writes to his bishop that the tribe of Indians known as Kaskaskians had moved their town down closer to the river. On the new site he had a chapel built. About this time a mission of secular priests was established by the Bishop of Quebec. François Montigny and John Bergier were the pioneers. The mission acquired a certain amount of stability from a grant of land four leagues square, made in 1722.‡ The proceeds of this small tract supported the missionaries. These priests devoted themselves principally to the French settlers. To the Jesuit fell the conversion of the Indian. He would fain rescue from perdition a

* Parkman's *Discovery of the Great Northwest*, p. 21.
† Shea's *History of Catholic Missions in America*, p. 567.
‡ Jesuit *Relations*, vol. lxv.

people sunk in the lowest barbarism. Their law was might, their religion an impulse, their qualities deceit, revenge, and a host of other vices that destroy manhood and integrity. The brave who consumed the heart of his rival on the battle-field could hardly be expected to follow Christian teachings in the wigwam. The principal obstacle in the way was this savage condition of the race. Civilization is a gradual growth and will not be forced. The Indian was not ready to receive the high ideals the Black Robe taught. True, he believed in a Deity, but, as in all primitive races, the conception was rather a personification of nature and passion than a distinct idea with motive power. He was a child in mind, but a man in passion and self-esteem, and he had to be made a man in character before he became a Christian. To multiply difficulties, there was the barrier of language. Many of the dialects had no abstract terms,* and the mysteries of religion had to be explained by roundabout means that failed to do aught but mystify. The example of avaricious and dishonest traders did much to destroy the savages' confidence in the teachings of their pastors, for they were quick to discern motives, and they were imitative. Dealers in fur sold liquor to them, and created a thirst for it that seems peculiar to the Indian nature, and which led him to barter all he had for the "fire-water" that did more to degrade him than any other civilized vice grafted on his barbarism. What with the apathy of the savage nature, and a marvellous disguise of feeling that rendered scepticism easy to conceal, it seems almost a miracle that the discouraged priest did not leave his task in disgust. His perseverance calls for the warmest eulogy, even from those who cannot sympathize with the spirit that actuated such heroism.

Judge Law,† a Protestant historian of Indiana, writes of the Catholic priests:

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* Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 294.
† *Colonial History of Indiana.*

"No class of men endured greater sufferings or made greater sacrifices for the cause they were engaged in. From the time when Marquette discovered the Mississippi in 1673 until the suspension of the order of the Jesuits in 1773, a century after, these followers of the Cross were, in season and out of season, untiring in their efforts to convert the Indian tribes dwelling between the Lakes and the Ohio, the Miami and the Mississippi. Even those who were temporarily assigned to duty at the French villages on the Wabash and the Mississippi viewed the conversion of the Indian as the chief object of their mission in the West. They had to adopt the migratory habits of the Indians; they followed them to their hunting-grounds, and administered the ordinances of the Church to those sons of the forest, whenever and wherever an opportunity might offer."

And of the Jesuits in the pioneer days of the new world we have this deathless eulogy from the pen of Francis Parkman,* not always so just in his awards of appreciation, nor always so clear of vision when the work of the Church is concerned. He says:

"Inspired with a self-devoting zeal to snatch souls from perdition, and win new empires to the cross; casting from them every hope of earthly pleasure or earthly aggrandizement, the Jesuit fathers buried themselves in deserts, facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. Their story is replete with marvels,—miracles of patient suffering and daring enterprise. They were the pioneers of northern America. We see them among the frozen forests of Acadia, struggling on snow-shoes, with some wandering Algonquin horde, or crouching in the crowded hunting-lodge, half stifled in the smoky den, and battling with troops of famished dogs for the last morsel of sustenance. Again we see the black-robed priest wading among the white rapids of the Ottawa, toiling with his savage comrades to drag the canoe against the headlong waters. Again, radiant in the vestments of his priestly office, he administers the sacramental bread to kneeling crowds of plumed and painted proselytes in the forests of the Hurons; or, bearing his life in his hand, carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like one who invades unarmed a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur-trader scarcely dared to follow. They planted missions at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac; and one of their fraternity, the illustrious Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, and opened a new theatre to the boundless ambition of France.

* Parkman's *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, p. 52.

"The path of the missionary was a thorny and a bloody one; and a life of weary apostleship was often crowned with a frightful martyrdom. Jean de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant preached the faith among the villages of the Hurons when their terror-stricken flock were overwhelmed by an irruption of the Iroquois. The missionaries might have fled; but, true to their sacred function, they remained behind to aid the wounded and baptize the dying. Both were made captive, and both were doomed to the fiery torture. Brebeuf, a veteran soldier of the cross, met his fate with an undaunted composure which amazed his murderers. With unflinching constancy he endured torments too horrible to be recorded, and died calmly as a martyr of the early church, or a war-chief of the Mohawks.

"The slender frame of Lallemant, a man younger in years and gentle in spirit, was enveloped in blazing savin-bark. Again and again the fire was extinguished; again and again it was kindled afresh; and with such fiendish ingenuity were his torments protracted, that he lingered for seventeen hours before death came to his relief.

"Isaac Jogues, taken captive by the Iroquois, was led from canton to canton and village to village, enduring fresh torments and indignities at every stage of his progress. Men, women, and children vied with each other in ingenious malignity. Redeemed, at length, by the humane exertions of a Dutch officer, he repaired to France, where his disfigured person and mutilated hands told the story of his sufferings. But the promptings of a sleepless conscience urged him to return and complete the work he had begun; to illumine the moral darkness upon which, during the months of his disastrous captivity, he fondly hoped that he had thrown some rays of light. Once more he bent his footsteps towards the scene of his living martyrdom, saddened with a deep presentiment that he was advancing to his death. Nor were his forebodings untrue. In a village of the Mohawks, the blow of a tomahawk closed his mission and his life."

While the savages made a new martyrology for the Jesuits, the French government went on strengthening its hold on its ancient empire. The end of the chain of forts was d'Iberville's colony in Louisiana. New Orleans grew into a thriving town; it sent out small colonies into the interior. The Company of the West * planted a little agricultural settlement about Fort Chartres, and the tracts granted to the settlers were cultivated by negro slaves. They were better off than the inhabitants of the fertile country about

* J. H. Perkins, *Annals of the West*, p. 36.

Detroit, who wrote to the governor-general of Canada that they had

"not dared to undertake any clearings or to establish farms because they had no titles which could secure them the property thereof." *

In the matter of religion, New Orleans was to the West what Baltimore was to the East. Capuchins, Carmelites, and Jesuits set out from there to combat heathenism. Now that the forts were built and garrisoned, the principal obstacle to safe communication between Canada and Louisiana was the hostility of the Chickasaws, and in a battle with them, Sieur François Morgan de Vincennes lost his life. The post to which he gave his name, and which becomes of such importance later on in our narrative, was only an Indian town at the beginning of the century; but in the second and third decades it took on a European character because of its important location.

The activity of the first thirty years in the Mississippi Valley was followed by a reaction.

"The Illinois mission was now to decline; the mismanagement of Louisiana affected the whole valley of the Mississippi. The forts in Illinois, garrisoned by dissolute soldiers, where liquor was freely sold to the Indians, added to unsuccessful wars, thinned down the tribe so that there were but two Indian missions, both conducted by Jesuit Fathers; one numbering six hundred Indians under Father Francis Xavier Guienne, and Father Louis Vivier, then recently arrived and actually studying the language; the other, still smaller, under Father Sebastian Louis Meurin, at Vincennes. The priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions had no longer any charge over the Illinois region, but continued at Cahokia as pastors for the French. A third Illinois village completed the nation, now so reduced that it could not raise three hundred fighting men. The Miami Mission had not been subject to Louisiana. St. Joseph's still flourished under the care of Father John Baptist Lamorinie, and among the Weas, near the present town of Lafayette, we find Father Pierre du Jaunay, who had been at St. Joseph's in 1745. Twelve years later, Choiseul drove the French Jesuits from their colleges and surrendered the possessions of France in North America to England and Spain. The centre of the mission at

* Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 50.

New Orleans was suppressed in 1762, and all further reënforcement was cut off from the Illinois Mission. Part of the Jesuit property in Illinois had been sold by the French government, and the means of the missionaries thus reduced. The Fathers generally remained as secular priests in their former missions, under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, till, one by one, they died off. Gagnon, Vivier, Meurin, and others ended their lives where they had labored. Father Peter Potier, the last Jesuit in the West, was at St. Joseph's in 1751, and frequently visited the Illinois country down to his death in 1781, at Detroit." *

Canada had come into British possession immediately after the treaty of Paris, but at the Lake line King George's soldiers met with opposition. The English flag was blood-stained before it floated over Kaskaskia. Passively, the French themselves submitted to fate, but their red allies in the arrogance of ignorance dared hold out longer against the mighty nation across seas. With true savage instinct, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, saw in the white man's inroads the doom of his race. The land-hunger of the French had not infringed upon his hunting-grounds; but the English aggressions were of a different character. They cleared the forests, made roads from one small farm to another, until the very atmosphere of civilization was brought into the wilderness; the *coureur de bois* had been brother and friend to the Ottawa, and joined in many a revel with him when the day was over; the English trader gave him good prices for his peltries, but social advances were met with the greatest coldness; in the little French military posts, the visiting tribe was not only tolerated, it was treated with kindness; in the busy towns of the conquerors, such a gathering met with curt impatience as loungers. The formality with which the chief was treated by the officers of Louis was replaced by scant respect, sometimes with contempt of their British fellow in arms. So Indian vanity, as well as the instinct for preservation, gave zest to the struggle.

* Shea's *Catholic Missions in America*, p. 378.

Gathering all the western tribes together, Pontiac fired them with a sense of their wrongs. He harangued them into a frenzy of revenge; he laid his plans before them. The French posts of the interior had not yet been garrisoned. They must prevent such an occurrence. Michilimackinac and Detroit were exceptions. General Amherst had marched upon the post on the straits in 1760, and left some ninety men to defend it.* Here they must strike. Four hundred warriors, hideous in their war-paint, took it by stratagem in 1763. The English traders were butchered, while not a Frenchman was injured. In one hour fell seventy of King George's subjects who had just been celebrating his birthday. All the forts of the region suffered a similar fate,—of Green Bay, St. Joseph, Ouantenon, Miamis, Sandusky, Presqu' Isle, Laboeuf, and Venango not one escaped.† Pontiac had struck quickly, and the blow felled many; but he had reckoned with only the scouts of civilization. In one year England had retrieved all; and in three the offender had met the usual fate of him who struggles against the current of civilization. But he had not despaired till his French brethren refused aid.

A period of quiet ensued from 1764 until the year 1774; the Indians who occupied the country about the borders of the river Ohio waged no war against the British colonists; though, in the meantime, many English colonists, disregarding the proclamation of the king, the provisions of treaties, the remonstrances of the Indians, and the prohibitory proclamations of the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, continued to harass the Indians by making settlements upon their lands, and by killing a considerable number of their women and children.‡ The tribes steadily decreased in numbers.

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* Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 70.
† *History of Indiana* (Goodrich and Tuttle), p. 65.
‡ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 80.

Although the French had refused to give Pontiac aid, their own antipathy to the new order of things was strong. When the English obtained possession of the forts, some of the former inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, but a third went to the opposite side of the Mississippi, the Spanish transfer of Louisiana being yet a secret.* St. Ange de Bellerive, who had been commandant at Vincennes from 1736 to 1764, and to whom Noyon de Villiers, the commandant in Illinois, gave up Fort Chartres at the end of that time, surrendered to Captain Stirling of the Forty-second Highlanders in October, 1765.† The Illinois officer had taken half his people with him to New Orleans, to settle near the exiled Acadians. Two years later Ulloa came from Havana to inaugurate Spanish administration, and failed. More than a year of anarchy and oppression, a short-lived republic, then "cruel O'Reilly" dealt a sudden and terrible blow, that firmly established Spanish authority on that side of the Mississippi.‡

While Louisiana was yet in French hands, trouble arose between the Capuchins and Jesuits, and the Jesuits were ordered to leave the country. Their property was seized and confiscated,

"their chapels razed to the ground, the antichristian spirit of the French Revolution showing itself in advance, in thus depriving the Catholics of Illinois of a place to worship God, and of the sacred articles necessary for the Holy Sacrifice. The sale of the church property was actually made, though the transaction was illegal, because the province had been ceded to England, and the French governor no longer had authority." §

Most of the members of the persecuted order withdrew. Among the very few who remained was Father Sebastian Louis Meurin, connected with the earliest records of Vin-

* Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, p. 312.
† Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 82.
‡ G. W. Cable's *Creoles of Louisiana*, p. 78.
§ Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 568.

cennes. Rather than leave the field of his labor, he bound himself to obey the Capuchin Superior at New Orleans.* He went to the English side of the river, after the Spanish possession, and made Cahokia, the most northern of the cluster of villages, his head-quarters. Quebec at this time extended

"on one side to the frontiers of northeastern Pennsylvania and New York province, the Ohio and the left bank of the Mississippi, on the other to the Hudson's Bay territory." †

and Bishop Olivier Briand exercised jurisdiction over the whole of that region. In 1767 he appointed Father Meurin Vicar-General of Illinois and Louisiana.‡ Immediately the old priest wrote:

"I would wish my self-esteem might prevent me from telling you, Monseigneur, that I am as unworthy as any one can be of the honor which you confer on me; and more than ever incapable of such an office, of which I know but the name. I have never been acquainted with any jurisprudence, either notorial, pontifical, or any other. I have been too long left to myself, and I barely know the duties of a simple priest. It is no longer possible for me to learn anything else. My letters of last spring must have omitted to inform you of my age and of my weakness of body and mind. I retain only a small portion of weak judgment, have no memory, and possess still less firmness. I need a guide both for the soul and for the body; for my eyes, my ears, and my legs are likewise very feeble. I am no longer good for anything but to be laid in the ground."

Although it is a digression, it might not be amiss to quote other parts of the same letter, for good Father Meurin in his simple account of matters to the Archbishop throws not a little light on the condition of ecclesiastical as well as of state affairs.

"I trust, Monseigneur" (he writes), "that you will be good enough to forgive me for having neither carried nor sent your graces and favors to New Orleans, according to your letters and instructions. . . .

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* Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 612.
† *Constitutional History of Canada* (J. G. Bourinot), chapters ii. iii.
‡ Jesuit *Relations*, vol. lxxi., p. 33.

"How would I have been received there after having stated over my own signature (in order to obtain permission to return to Illinois) that I would always act as vicar of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers,—subject to their visits, their reprimands, and corrections, and to their jurisdiction, etc., which was to be the only one throughout the Mississippi country? Although I might have subscribed to all that before Monsieur the procurator-general of the king, solely for such time as the future jurisdiction should be real and established,—compelling them to admit before the magistrate that as yet they possessed it not, and could not convey any portion of it to me,—I would not have been better received. Here is the proof. As soon as they heard, through the voyageurs, that you had honored me with the appointment of vicar-general, a warrant of proscription was issued against me; and it would have been executed had I not, on being warned thereof by a friend in authority, escaped from it by withdrawing to English territory. There, on at once taking the oath of allegiance as a former resident, I secured myself against the Spanish prosecutions, which declare that I am a criminal because I have received jurisdiction from Quebec, which is so opposed to the intentions and interests of Spain, etc.

"There is another instance of opposition to your letters, Monseigneur, of which I must not allow you to remain in ignorance, all the more so that I have been assured that a complaint would be made to his excellency, Monsieur de Gages, governor-general for his Britannic Majesty. About a month ago, having learned that Sieur Jautard (second purchaser of the property of the mission of Ste. Famille among the Kaskias, sold to Sieur Lagrange by Monsieur Forget, vicar-general of your predecessor, and missionary curate in the said parish, etc.) was bargaining to resell it to an Englishman, I went to oppose the sale on behalf of the gentlemen of your Seminary, who claim this property as still belonging to them, through its having been sold, without their power of attorney and without their knowledge, by the person who was but the steward thereof. I also undertook to support by the use of your name, Monseigneur, my contention for the preservation of all property belonging to the Churches for their maintenance and that of the missionaries whom You deign to employ. Mr. Forbes, the commandant (there is no civil government here as yet), asked me for the letters containing my commission; I showed him your letters, and those of Monsieur the superior. As regards the letters conferring the appointment of vicar-general, he replied that, inasmuch as Monsieur de Gages had given no instructions respecting the episcopacy and the office of vicar-general, he could not take cognizance of them; and that this seemed purely a scheme on your part and mine. He therefore expressly forbade me to use the letters, or to assume the title of vicar-general in any letter, or deed, or in public, until he should receive an answer from his general regarding both your jurisdiction in the country

and the Kaskias property. He promised me, however, that the latter should not be offered for sale until then. Sieur Jautard goes to Canada, and thence to New York or London, to obtain release from the possession of the said estate.. . .

"There is also, in this village of the Kaskias, the property of the Jesuits which was unjustly seized, confiscated, and sold by the French government after the session of the country to England, if your lordship or your missionaries in Canada wish to revindicate it. As for myself, I ask nothing: I am too old. But I would always be grieved to see the chapel and cemetery profaned, being used as a garden and storehouse by the English, who rent them from Sieur Jean Baptiste Bauvais, who, under the decree of confiscation and the contract of sale and purchase of the property, etc., was obliged to demolish the chapel and leave its site and that of the cemetery uncultivated under the *débris*. He says that the subdelegate, the executor of the decree, has since sold the property to him. By what right? The presses used for the vestments and sacred vessels are now used in his apartments, as well as the altar-cruets and the floor, etc.

"My continual reproaches to him on that score have kept him away from me and from the sacraments for three years. I beg you to give me a decision on this, and to say whether, in case of his presenting himself to me or to another, he can be granted absolution and be dispensed from handing over the said articles to the parish church. That is my only request; for I believe that he bought the remainder in good faith, but not the chapel and its furniture, which, according to the decree, were to be destroyed and burned. I beg you to decide as judge or supreme authority.

"During the four years while I have ministered to these English parishes, I have received no tithes therefrom: I have received naught but what was given me out of charity by some, and the fees for Masses. I have always exhorted them to pay the tithes to the fabrique, for the support of the churches and of the missionary, when one comes. They, I mean the rich ones, have always claimed that they owe nothing when there is no resident pastor. I beg you to decide the case; otherwise, three missionaries would be unable to live in a suitable manner, or would be compelled to leave some villages abandoned. I shall soon be unable to do anything more. Threatened beforehand, as I am, with being cast out when others come, I wish all the more ardently for them. I have always had the poor on my side. Priests will be at least as charitable as they, and God will assist me through them; or, if he prefer,—and that would be more advantageous for me,—he will cause me to share his abandonment. If you deem advisable, you will assign me a place or a corner in one of the clergy-houses of the country, for which I tender you in advance my most humble thanks, happy if I can have the consolation of Christians, dying with Jesus Christ in the hands of one of his ministers.

"This is on the supposition that the government would suffer my presence there; for Father Harding, the superior in Philadelphia, wrote me last autumn that there were warnings and signs that the Jesuits were about to be treated in England as in France, Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, and he bade me farewell, fearing that he would have no other opportunity of doing so. Why am I not a great enough enemy of the devil to deserve such a treatment for the third time?"

This humble missionary and Pierre Potier, most of the time at Detroit, seem to have been the only priests in that portion of the diocese. As both were men in the evening of life, worn out with years of hardship, it was almost impossible to make the yearly round of the missions. Vincennes, on the Wabash, was two hundred miles from Kaskaskia, and Michilimackinac, the other extremity, was at the head of Lake Michigan. Indian missions were scattered at random in the intervening territory; in addition to these the Spanish towns of St. Genevieve and St. Louis on the other bank of the Mississippi demanded ministration from Quebec priests. This condition of affairs excited the solicitude of Bishop Briand, and, moved by the letter of Father Meurin, he looked about for a zealous, young, and hardy assistant. In Pierre Gibault, a young Seminarian, these qualities were united. He was thoroughly fitted for the mission by birth and early training, but more so by reason of his education in that famous institution, the Seminary of Quebec, whose sons had carried the word of Christ to the farthest wilderness of New France, since the days of Thury and Gaulin, who baptized the Abnakis of Maine and won the savage heart for the French for all time. His ordination was hurried, and, after receiving the powers of Vicar-General of the Illinois, for the time subordinate to Father Meurin, he set out from his post by way of the Lakes and Michilimackinac, accompanied by a little band of French traders. He left Montreal sometime in the early summer, and reached Michilimackinac during the month of July, 1768, after a journey "very slow and difficult on account of the quantity of rain."

Some of the wearing uncertainty with which the days of that painful journey were filled was removed by the cordial reception of the English commander. This official entertained the young priest at his home, and gave him every encouragement.

The condition in which he found things here typified his whole field of labor. Father M. L. Le Franc had visited the post last in 1761, and there had been no priest there since.* When Father Gibault's presence became known, the whole French population, swelled by a crowd of Indian converts, besieged him. His first experience was a hard one. Almost all of the twenty-four hours he spent in the confessional, and the needs there disclosed must have furnished many suggestions for the direction of his efforts among the people in the future. He administered many baptisms, but he quaintly says, "I have not made a single marriage." His zeal led him to visit the Indians of Père du Jaunay, who died after the fall of Canada. This mission dates back to 1669,† and was in the near vicinity of the post. The savages "Mourned their Father as they did the day of his death." ‡ Those who could speak French went to confession; the rest wished to do so, but could not understand a word.

Father Gibault's greatest trouble was the number of traders who had not been to confession for "from three to ten years." They prayed him to remain until all could confess, and offered supplies for his little company to the Illinois. Already he had delayed some hours in order to finish the confessions, and he dared not wait longer, since his orders were for Illinois. He urges, as another force compelling his departure, that M. Desplaines, who had accompanied him up to this time, "would be very angry if he did not arrive with me in the Illinois."

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* *Under Three Flags* (Moore), p. 255.
† Shea's *Catholic Missions in America*, p. 378.
‡ Gibault's *Letter*, Archives of Quebec.

On questioning the traders and half-breeds that swarmed about him, he learned that the Spaniards had driven out Father Meurin from the village; also that the English commander had received the poor missionary kindly, else he would have been sent to the sea in less than twenty-four hours. This bade him hope for a peaceful reception in his new parish. He left for the Illinois town full of energy and interest in his new work. "I desire with all my heart," he wrote to his bishop, "to arrive at my destination, and fulfil the designs of God," and his reflections on the post he is leaving show the same spirit of zeal.

"In a word, God is not altogether abandoned in these regions, nor will He lack workers, well resolved to endure hunger and thirst, and to make a continual Lent."

It was first intended that Father Gibault should reside at Cahokia to revive the old Tamarois mission, but the post had fallen into decay. The Seminary had transferred all its rights to property here, which M. Forget, also a missionary, had sold, without orders from the Messieurs of the Seminary, to Bishop Briand and the parish of the Holy Family. Father Gibault received the power of attorney to annul the sale, but he did not concern himself about fulfilling his order, since he never sojourned at Cahokia. The house on the property served as a fort and storehouse for an English company. We find many allusions to the loss of his property in the Bishop's letters to his representative, and again and again reproached for Father Gibault's apparent indifference in the matter. But in this case it seems the priest was more sinned against than sinning. It was all important that he should not antagonize the authorities, or place himself in an unfavorable position in the eyes of his new flock; but the Bishop does not seem to have accepted this view of the case, and urged him several times on the point. Another action of the Seminary threatened to compromise him in the eyes of the people. They passed the

following ordinance, which became public in the parish concerned. The records read:

"The mission of Louisiana, whose establishment cost the Seminary more than thirty thousand lives, should now furnish itself with missionary priests, by contributing to train them at the Seminary, and that they shall share in the cost of the education of Mr. Gibault, a priest just sent to them, who had been at the expense of the Seminary during all his studies." *

Such disclosure was bound to lessen the prestige of their pastor.

In a letter written to his bishop during that first year of self-reliance and labor, after he had become thoroughly acquainted with the condition of affairs, Father Gibault speaks about the choice of a fixed place of residence. In defence of his decision he writes:

"All wish me to make my residence with them, but I am constrained for several reasons to choose my residence at Kaskaskia, because those live here who addressed a packet to Your Excellency, which you responded to by letter to Father Meurin, in which you promise them a curé. These are they who have engaged to defray the expenses of my trip, and this is the most populous village."

The wishes of the English governor also influenced his decision, and doubtless he had the hearty approval of Father Meurin, who was a faithful and admiring supporter from the first. This disinterested man left the populous posts, which offered the best means of support, to his youthful co-worker. He retained Cahokia and Prairie du Rocher, and made occasional visits to Fort Chartres † and St. Philippe. The inhabitants of Prairie du Rocher built him a house, supplied his needs,—which were few,—furnished him with a horse and caleche, and a servant. He made one more trip to Vincennes with Father Gibault, but, with this exception, spent the evening of his life in a quiet routine in the little Illinois settlement.

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* *Histoire du Seminaire de Quebec* (Cardinal Lascheeau), p. 177.

† *Conquest of the Northwest by English*, p. 185.

Father Gibault wisely began his apostolic duties at home, then began to take in the nearest towns, one by one. St. Genevieve, which Father Meurin had quitted as soon as he was appointed Vicar-General,—for the Spanish could not forget that he was a Jesuit,—had been neglected ever since. The commander was a man "all devout," and readily gave Father Gibault permission to enter the town. The English officer was not unwilling, for the friendly spirit existing between towns so close as these was to be maintained at all costs. Hardly had he determined what to do first, when he was attacked by the fevers of the country, "an ordinary tribute one pays to become acclimated," he says philosophically. Such an impediment was particularly trying at this time. Many men had not approached the sacraments for ten years or more, owing to their prejudice against Spanish priests and Jesuits, but they came eagerly to the French-Canadian, who was interested in all, kindly, and earnest. The harvest was overripe, and one man could cut a narrow swath at best. Hopefully, and with the conviction that his appeal would be heard, he writes to Quebec:

"Still two more missionaries are needed, one for Tamarois, twenty leagues from here, the other at Post Vincennes, which is eighty leagues away;"

and he urges

"this part of your flock is terribly at the mercy of wolves; above all, Post Vincennes, where there are a great many people, and they are better able to support a curé than is this place."

But in fear less the bishop might consider it a lack of will on his part, he adds a defence of his motives that has the ring of sincerity:

"I employ my little ability to the glory of Our Lord, to my proper sanctification, and to that which seems nearest to me what I ought to do."

Of his official duties he writes, and then follows a detailed account which is like circumstantial evidence:

"I hold public prayers every evening towards sunset, teach catechism four times a week, three of these for the whites, and one for the blacks or slaves. As often as possible I give exhortations upon matters of faith most useful for the instruction of the hearers."

With humility he adds:

"But I hope that Our Lord will regard more what I would wish to do and the intention with which I do my work than what I really accomplish."

And the reward was gratifying to recount. Only seven or eight persons of the village did not make their Easter Communion, a thing which had never before happened in this town, according to the old inhabitants. Good Father Meurin looked on these prodigies with irrepressible delight, and his letters are filled with praises of his subordinate. He, too, speaks deploringly of the obstacles to success.

"Mr. Gibault is full of zeal, and for this reason he cannot last long, unless it please our God to renew ancient miracles; he has often to go on perilous journeys, across woods and mountains, exposed to weather, rivers, and torrents. Mr. Gibault since his arrival in this country has almost always been sick of fevers,—first great and dangerous, then slight and slow,—against which his courage has always sustained him, so that he could perform his duties in the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia." *

Towards the close of the first year another and more urgent appeal for assistance came to Quebec.

"If Your Lordship wishes to spare his priests and provide for the welfare of his flock, you must send two more priests into this country, —one to Vincennes, which is populous, and whence he can carry solace to many other posts, and the other to the Tamarois. It is not that I fear to sacrifice myself, for I have heard you say that a priest has lived long enough when he has been ten years in the priesthood, but I speak

* Letter of Father Meurin to Mgr. Briand, Archives of Quebec.

to Your Lordship for the glory of God, and for the health of this part of your flock."

He complains that he cannot accomplish half that could be done. After a visit to the Spanish commander, who had recently come from New Orleans with no priest, he says despairingly,

"we hoped for help from Spain, but Louisiana has revolted and driven out the Spaniards from New Orleans and the whole western bank of the Mississippi."

St. Genevieve and St. Louis were really in the missions of the Capuchins, but, as they were near, the pastor of Kaskaskia visited them regularly. It seems strange that the bishop did not recognize the necessity for a larger force of workers in this field, and that reasonable appeals from a man as well informed and zealous as Father Gibault called for no action on his part; but all records show that, up to the transfer of authority from Quebec to the newly installed Bishop of Baltimore, no assistant came to the help of Father Gibault. The energy of the best years of his life was expended in ministrations over this vast expanse of wilderness, among varying races and extremes of social condition. He must have acquired a good English vocabulary and had some acquaintance with Indian dialects, for he seems to have gone about among them quite freely.

Vincennes, with its mixed population of illiterate French Canadians, English traders, and Indians, was the largest and most important place within his limits, and offered the best opportunity for the exercise of pastoral zeal.

All during the first winter, he had looked longingly towards the post on the Wabash. Rumor told him that this ancient mission, established by Father Mermet in 1710,* had not seen a priest for seven years. Julian Duvernay

* Shea's *History of Catholic Church in America*, p. 559.

had left Philibert, a notary public, to administer lay baptisms and record them; but absence of moral restraint had worked frightful ravages in the place. Besides his own illness, there were other obstacles in Father Gibault's way. The Chickasaws and Cherokees were making trouble at the time. Lord Botecourt had been purchasing large tracts of Indian lands in Kentucky, and by 1770 had extinguished all titles south of the Ohio. The homeless tribes, made desperate by the advancing frontiers, began to move north and west. Although the government did not encourage settlements, for fear the isolated position of this territory would foster ideas of independence, many English-speaking pioneers settled tracts here, and formed small communities. From time immemorial, the savages of the south were hostile to those on the north side of the Ohio, and, as French influence had not extended beyond the river, their lives were no longer held without fear of the red men, as in the days when the Miamis were powerful. Early in the spring several persons had been taken and killed on the road from the Illinois towns to Vincennes, and his parishioners refused to risk Father Gibault's life. They assembled several times to prevent his departure. But later on, the bishop, who had received a petition from the townfolks of Vincennes for a curé, sent a decided mandate.

"You must go to Post Vincennes a month or more, if it is possible, and you can take Père Meurin there with you, and give a little mission."

He advises other exercises beside the Mass, alms, conferences, and catechism.*

Obediently, the two priests set out on the journey, though the older proved a hinderance rather than a help, on account of his feebleness. There they found religion "almost

* Letter of Archbishop Briand, Archives of Quebec.

stifled." There is a graphic description of their reception in one of the Reverend Father's letters.

"Upon my arrival, every one came in a crowd to receive me on the bank of the Wabash River; some threw themselves on their knees, unable to speak; others could not utter a word for sobbing; some cried out, 'Mon père, save us, we are almost in hell;' others said, 'God has not yet abandoned us, for He sends you to us to make us do penance for our sins;' others said, 'Ah! Messieur, if you had only come a month ago, my poor wife, my dear father, my dear mother, my poor child, would not have died without the sacrament.'"

Two months were spent to advantage in the town, and there were many consolations for the workers to whom every repentance was cause for rejoicing.

"God touched and enlightened an English family in the Post who were Presbyterians. They were well instructed, knowing how to read and write."

On this visit the grateful people, easily awakened to a sense of their obligations, erected a church.

Sometime during the next five years, after he had returned from Vincennes, Father Gibault's mother came to Kaskaskia to make a home for her son, and his domestic happiness took away from his mission the character of a place of exile. The sister who accompanied her to the Illinois country had not been there long before she was married.

Father Gibault must have possessed some personal magnetism, for in all his missions he gained an influence over his parishioners that was remarkable even to their naturally responsive and impressionable French temperament. In answer to a second remonstrance of the bishop's against his residence in Kaskaskia, he writes naïvely,

"The Colonel says his people need to be constantly restrained by some one whom they love, fear, and respect."

Father Gibault wrote regularly to his bishop during the first fifteen years of his missionary life, and some of the

letters preserved give doubtless a truer picture of the state of affairs than the descriptions of any travellers of the day. The simple narrative of the full days of the young priest as he labored among his flock throws a light upon the daily life of the French-Canadian of the time that almost gives this quaint phase of life the vividness of reality. Even commonplace details seem touched with dignity in the narration. Where is there a more graphic picture of missionary life than the following sent to his superior at Quebec?

"I have confidence in God to hope that I shall be able to banish in a short time the gross ignorance from the station of Vincennes, whose inhabitants, and especially the young people, have had no principles of religion for twenty-three years, except when Mr. Payet and I have passed through on our very short missions: the poor people are like the savages in the midst of whom they live. I have had and still have for them catechism twice a day, after Mass and in the evening before sunset. After each catechism instruction I send away the girls, and teach the boys the responses for Mass and the ceremonies of the Church for Feasts and Sundays. I apply myself to preach on Feasts and Sundays as often as possible. In a word, I am here a year and a half, and when I arrived I found no one, large or small, to serve Mass but an old European who could not always come. Two months after, I had several trained, and now even the youngest boys in the village know not only how to serve Mass, but also the ceremonies of Feasts and Sundays, and all, old and young, know the catechism.

"I would not have succeeded in building a church at this station if the inhabitants of the Cahokias had not sent me a courier with a request from all the parish for me to attend them, offering me great advantages. The inhabitants of Vincennes, fearing with reason that I would abandon them, resolved unanimously to build a church ninety by forty-two feet, with a stone foundation and frame front, a part of the wood for which is already hauled as well as some of the blocks of stone for the foundation. The church will be only seventeen feet high, but the winds are so impetuous in this country that this is still very high for safety. The house which we now use as a church will serve me as a presbytery which I expect to enter in a few months. The grounds are extensive, are very dry, and in the middle of the village. I beg your approval of the building of this new church, under the title of St. Francis Xavier on the Ouabache (Wabash)."

The first complete round of missions that we know anything of was begun when the news of the ruin of the church

at Michilimackinac reached Kaskaskia. The Vicar set out on a journey of some seven hundred leagues, visiting Peoria, St. Joseph's, Michilimackinac, the Miamis, Ouantanon, and Post Vincennes. The next missionary tour ended in Michilimackinac in October, 1775. It marks a phase in his life that one cannot dwell upon in the unemotional way of the historian. In the preceding May, his mother, whose devotion had softened the harshness of his missionary life, whose companionship had made the uncongenial atmosphere less intolerable, died after a short illness. The word was brought to him in October. The consolation he might have found in his work was denied him by the ungrateful conduct of some of his fickle parishioners. Harsh criticisms and accusations, of whose nature we are ignorant, came to the ears of the Bishop of Quebec. To go back to the town that no longer held a home for him, to face a murmuring people in his loneliness, tried his sensitive temperament too severely. He wrote to Quebec and asked to be recalled.

"Monseigneur," he writes, "this is the eighth year that I am obeying your orders, firmly believing that I am obeying the orders of God Himself. This is the fourth voyage I have taken, the shortest of which was five hundred leagues, visiting, exhorting, reforming as best I may the people whom you have confided to me. I am become physically enfeebled by all these misfortunes; I can no longer do what I have been doing, and what I should like to do. I am forty years old; I have never spared myself; I have had to live on poor fare; even fasting for considerable times, having nothing at all to eat; walking night and day exposed to all sorts of weather and fatigues. Add to all this, the mental worries; a stranger in an undisciplined country, exposed to all the calumnies that impiety and irreligion can invent, seeing all my journeys and best endeavors misinterpreted, and thus maliciously carried even to Your Lordship. All this and many other reasons oblige me to pray you, Monseigneur, to have me withdrawn from Illinois. . . . Do not think, Monseigneur, that a self-interested feeling is actuating me; I should be distressed.

"My sister is comfortably established in Illinois. I have just received a letter dated in May, which tells me that my mother was at the point of death from a fatal malady. I am therefore now alone, and all countries are indifferently alike to me; but one must be doing something

useful. In a word, you are my father, my judge, my bishop. I have laid bare to you some of my reasons,—judge and advise. I assure you that if you command me to stay, I shall do so, my first duty being to obey.

"P. GIBAULT."

The answer did not reach him before cold weather set in, and no boats intended to leave for Detroit till spring. Impatient at the thought of a winter of suspense, he made the journey through the straits, coasted the shores of Lake Huron in a bark canoe with a man and child, and arrived in Detroit in the dead of winter. The hardships of the trip brought on an illness. The result of the journey was consistently doleful. The bishop's answer was unfavorable. He returned to Kaskaskia

"full of resentment against his parish, which he wished to leave absolutely as soon as he put his affairs in order."

If we may believe good Father Meurin, the ill-will shown by those for whom he had labored so earnestly, embittered the lonely man. Shortly after his return Father Meurin died, and the death of this faithful friend must have been a sore trial. Evidently it affected the hearts of his people and wrought a change in the state of affairs, for there was a reconciliation shortly after. Perfect harmony had been restored between the Vicar and his people in 1778, two years later. The domestic history of the man is wholly obscured in his public interest during the period that follows; and the following is the last letter recorded from him in the Archives at Quebec:

"Monseigneur" (thus we read), "I pray you to consider that for the past twenty years I have served these missions, without ceasing, without, so to speak, a fixed abode, almost always journeying in all seasons of the year, always exposed to being massacred by the savages. My age of fifty-one years, the need I have of being more recollected after so much exterior work, which entailed so many and such long journeys,

the repugnance that I have to serve under another bishop, be it in Spain or in Republic America, and a thousand other reasons, lead me to expect you to grant my request, and to recall me, which I earnestly ask, believing that I follow in this the will of God who inspires me with it for my salvation. As to the spiritual aid of the people in these parts, I can assure you that it will be wanting to them, even less than formerly, since they have a priest at the Kaskaskias, another at the Cahokias, and that they will not be long without having one at Vincennes, if I leave it, for it is the favorite post of the American Congress. This all conspires to make me hope for my recall."

In contrast with the placid life of the vast interior, the border of the continent was in a ferment. The struggle for America's independence had been going on for decades in principle, but it took the form of active hostilities only three years previous, at the time when Father Gibault made his appearance on the public stage in a campaign that materially affected the drift of success. In Boston harbor a pebble had been dropped, whose widening ripples crossed the Alleghanies and disturbed the calm of the little French settlements, that as far as any interior force is concerned might have labored for centuries. Although the British armies were in the north, and every able-bodied patriot was called to that quarter to defend it, Congress could not overlook the necessity of defending the southern and western borders of the colonies.

"Northwest of the Ohio River was the open door by which the Indians raided the white settlements, and that these raids were instigated, planned, and prosecuted under the direction of the officers of the British military posts in that country"

cannot be questioned. These were Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia.*

To a thoughtful observer of affairs, the increasing influence of the British over the Indians, after Pontiac's fruitless

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* *Conquest of the Northwest* (W. H. English), chap. viii.

war, was a natural outcome of existing conditions. That spasmodic rebellion, the last assertion among those tribes of the bold primitive Indian spirit, left them exhausted. They fell an easy prey to English commercialism, and once England had established relations with them on this footing, her power was absolute and coercing, if need be. English prices to tempt their cupidity, English liquor to excite their appetite, and English military strength to awe them, soon converted a haughty aloofness to servile docility. As the new influence grew, the old French hold on the forest tenants relaxed. In the shifting of tribes, due to a gradual westward movement of the frontier of civilization, those who had been allies when French was a synonyme for omnipotence in the land had dwindled into insignificance, because of the blighting vices of civilization, or had aroused the Great Father of Waters to seek new homes beyond the sound of axe and musket, and were henceforth out of reach. True, the priests were French, and the sentiments of religion had not faded altogether from the savage mind, but, now the Church lacked the practical assistance of state, few missionaries had come among them. The old belief or tradition that the Great French Father would one day come unto his own again, and reëstablish the old order of things, was still current; and the hereditary trust in this phantom, strong in its hold on credulous minds, constituted the chief influence of the French during the struggle that followed.

With this exception, the Indian was entirely won over to the British. No small amount of misrepresentation inflamed the savage in his depredations on the colonial frontiers. Urged on, too, by a rational dread of the sturdy pioneers whose policy never allowed retreat or the abandonment of a single outpost, who clung to their small forest holdings with the tenacity of a parasite, he committed barbarities that shame humanity. With these scouts, British troops could make their way anywhere. As long as the western frontiers

were lacking a regular garrison, the young confederation was in imminent danger of being undermined. An expedition from Detroit could have marched upon any post in Maryland, Virginia, or the Carolinas before relief could be summoned from the north, where the congestion of men was greatest. But so desperate had the conflict become that the withdrawal of even a small portion of the colonial force would have precipitated a crisis. Even had there been no scarcity of troops, the exposed line was too long to be garrisoned in the usual manner. Congress adopted the solution offered by one of the greatest military geniuses of modern times. If the British posts south of the Lake line could be destroyed, a single army, and that not large, would be able to hold the whole of Canada at bay with the fort at Detroit. General George Rogers Clark, a Virginian by birth, set himself to accomplish this colossal task, that would force the struggling armies of the north from the dread of a foe in the rear, and secure a bulwark of territory that was to save the new union from attacks sure to prove fatal in its hour of peril.

He was the best fitted man to carry on warfare in this region. In the defence of some Kentucky settlements, he became thoroughly acquainted with the character of the country and the natives. Once he recognized the feasibility of an attack on the British posts, he never relaxed in his efforts to gather an army to accomplish his designs. He laid his plan before Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and after much deliberation they were approved. In spite of the difficulties of finding men who would enlist under secret orders, he raised a small company of about one hundred and seventy men, and started on his march for the west. Vincennes, the centre of the scalp industry, offered a forbidding aspect with its garrison of regulars. Kaskaskia would be an easy prey as far as the defenders at the fort were concerned. He could easily catch them off guard.

His first care was to gain the amity of the French population. This was a matter of greatest import; not that they, with their puny military strength, could inflict much injury upon him, but their influence with the savages was an item, and the tribes of that country were the British strength. Secrecy was requisite if the succeeding details of the plan were to mature, and the first condition of this was the fidelity of the inhabitants of the little town.

To accomplish his purpose he had recourse to stratagem, relying mainly on the reputation that had preceded him, and not a little on the inflammable nature of the French. The Indians with whom the Kaskaskians dealt had a wholesome fear of Kentuckians in general, and of the Indian fighter, Clark, in particular. In memory of earlier days, and with a keen remembrance of more recent affairs, they called them the "Big Knives." Then, after the bowie disappeared from the list of weapons, the appellation remained to inspire terror. Strength, ferocity, mercilessness, characterized their image in the Indian mind, and in their graphic way they transferred the terror it inspired to the credulous Kaskaskian.

Clark's band came rapidly down the Ohio. They met no traders to spread the news of their approach. As they neared Kaskaskia, night came on, and it was a night that never faded from the memory of the inhabitants of the town. The surprise was complete. A small detachment entered the fort and woke Captain Rochblave from a deep sleep. Instantly he was secured. The rest of the army surrounded the town, and sent runners from door to door to warn the people to keep to their houses. That caution was unnecessary. Men, women, and children were in abject terror, increased momentarily by the savage demeanor of the invaders, whom they believed capable of any barbarity. Clark's intention was to foster this impression by a systematic course of action, as he realized that fear is the founda-

tion of respect. Then, too, his proposed clemency should have all the force of contrast.*

The miserable night at last came to an end. Early in the morning, some of the principal citizens were put in irons.

"Soon afterwards, M. Gibault, the priest of the village, accompanied by five or six aged citizens, waited on Clark, and said that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged to be permitted to assemble in their church, and there take leave of each other." †

The permission was granted, but in a way that was essentially non-committal. After the close of the meeting, the townsmen appointed Father Gibault the leader of another deputation that waited on the American commander, and asked that they might not be separated from their wives and children, and might also retain some means of support.

At this juncture, thinking the suspense had been painful enough, Clark abruptly asked the priest whether they thought they were savages or not. The abrupt turn of affairs disconcerted the delegation, and they had no reply to make. Anxious to impress them with the magnanimity of himself and his government, he granted them freedom to go and come as usual; but before the permission was made public, he followed up his advantage with a discourse on the causes of the war, the independence of the colonies, the glorious principles for which they fought, and their chances for success. He fired his hearers with his own enthusiasm, and from that moment Father Gibault ceased to be neutral, and became a zealous American partisan. They went out from the officer's presence eager to enlist their friends in the cause.

The reaction was in proportion to the terror of the night just passed. Bonfires were built, bells rung, public prayers of thanksgiving said in the church. Never had old Kaskaskia been so gay. Their pastor, while they were assem-

* Clark's *Memoirs*, p. 182.
† Clark, quoted by Dillon, p. 126.

bled, spoke in his familiar accents of the new nation, of the principles upon which it was founded, of freedom, of the hated English yoke, and told them that they too would belong to this glorious people if they would take the oath of allegiance. If they would take it? They huzzaed, they shouted, and threw their caps into the air. They crowded about, struggling for precedence in the ceremony. They would never live under any other government. The following days were an ovation to the army. Their stores, and even the money of the French, were at the service of the newcomers. They themselves were ready servitors. Clark paused only long enough to encourage and enliven his troops; he never delayed to rest on laurels. Cahokia, the town next in importance, now claimed his attention. He would have marched upon it with a force of men, had not the people assured him that they were all friends and relations of the inhabitants of the hamlet, and a mere word from one of their number would induce every townsman to follow the same course. Their assurance proved true; taking possession of the other Illinois towns was a mere formality. St. Philippe, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres were Americanized in a few days.

This feeling of brotherhood among the French throughout the country was of great assistance to the Americans, and they never had occasion to lose confidence in it. As an agent to further Clark's plans, it was second only to the respect in which they held Father Gibault, their readiness to accept his judgment on any question, and their unswerving allegiance in the troublous times that followed. Father Gibault's partisanship on this and following occasions, during the campaign in Illinois, makes him of special interest to the student of American history, and on it are founded claims of gratitude that the unprejudiced must recognize. Undoubtedly he was a patriot by conviction; and the readiness with which he was won over to the cause

at Kaskaskia, and his prompt action with regard to the inhabitants, argue that the issues of the day occupied some portion of his thought even before he came under the spell of Clark's eloquence. To his powers of persuasion, his knowledge of the arguments best calculated to appeal to his simple parishioners, the American general owed the active aid that made subsequent expeditions possible.

When it became known that Clark's next move was to be upon Vincennes, enthusiasm again ran high. Again they argued an armed force was unnecessary. No British soldiers remained in the post, only the inhabitants had to be brought over to the cause. They, too, would listen to Father Gibault; he would state the case for them, and they would listen and believe as their brothers in the Illinois had done. M. Gibault volunteered, and suggested that he take Dr. Laffont, an influential citizen, with him to look after temporal concerns. Gladly Clark accepted the offer, and the two set out with a little guard of men that were to garrison the fort. All went smoothly as it had been planned. Father Gibault collected his parishioners in the church, laid the case before them, pleaded the cause of "liberty" with the enthusiasm of a Jacobin, and two thousand more swore allegiance to the United States, in good Louis XIV French. The colors were hoisted over the fort, and a garrison of French troops under American officers installed. Maurice Thompson has given the incident a romantic setting in "Alice of Old Vincennes." Father Gibault took advantage of this opportunity to administer spiritual consolation to his flock, and in the records of St. Xavier's Parish * we find several marriages, baptisms, and deaths entered over Pierre Gibault's signature in this year.

After a short visit, the delegates returned. We find the following entry in Clark's account:†

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* RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, xii. 48, etc.

† *Conquest of the Northwest* (W. H. English), p. 1046.

"M. Gibault and Laffont's expences in taking possession of Post Vincennes in 1779, $657.00,"

a substantial proof that they went in an official capacity. The importance of his influence has been frequently recognized. Judge Law says that to M. Gibault,

"next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are more indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original Northwest Territory than to any other men."

Here the active career of Father Gibault as a patriot ceases; but his efforts to sustain the good-will of his people went on, even after they had been ruined by the very nation to which they adhered. And while the subsequent history of the region in which the patriot missionary exercised his functions does not owe any striking feature to his personal action, his fate and the fate of the element he represents receive their character from the trend of the national events that followed.

The fruit of the mission to Vincennes was not lasting. General Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, soon heard of the capture of the place, and, coming down the river with an army of regulars and four or five hundred Indians, he retook the town from Captain Helm and his lieutenant, who were alone in the fort. Then Clark, at Kaskaskia, showed that daring which belongs to genius. He knew he would be attacked when the rainy season was over, and there was little hope of defence against such superior numbers. Safety lay in the offensive, if it could come in the nature of a surprise. The terms of enlistment of many of his troops had expired, and they were unwilling to undertake another campaign. Again Father Gibault's power worked for the cause of liberty. The gap was filled by French volunteers. Vigo, a Spanish soldier, who had turned trader and Indian fighter, went as a spy to Vincennes, and obtained the necessary information. Every precaution for secrecy was taken. On February 5 the little band was ready

to set out. There were touching farewells to the French company and sighs of regret from the Americans, for they had every reason to think kindly of the Kaskaskians and their gracious treatment. Father Gibault blessed and absolved them all. He, at the head of the townfolk, watched them out of the village, and gave them every encouragement. Then came the dreary days of waiting before the news of the wonderful march and its success reached them.

The result was of national importance. There were now no English posts from the Lakes to New Orleans. The news of the capture was joyfully received by the governor of Virginia and forwarded to Congress. The county of Illinois was immediately organized, and a force of five hundred soldiers, raised under John Todd, to hold the conquest. Clark was the hero of the hour, but the plaudits of the nation were but small acknowledgment of the thing he had accomplished. The capture of Detroit was meditated, and Governor Henry, who had heard of Father Gibault's services, recommended him as an agent to the French there. But instead of the force of two thousand men Clark asked for the undertaking, only four hundred marched west. These were sufficient, however, to hold what had already been taken. New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut claimed the conquered territory by virtue of their "sea to sea" charters, but Virginia's right to conquest obtained precedence, and she set up a temporary government which lasted till 1784.* An appeal to general patriotism induced her to give up her claim to the national government in that year, and it was organized into the Northwest Territory under General Arthur St. Clair.

During the progress of these events, Father Gibault had continued on his usual round of missions. He made a visit of three weeks to Vincennes, the year after Clark took it,

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* *Century Atlas.*

and went there occasionally during the lapse of five years. In 1780, Monsig. Briand ordered him to present himself at Quebec, and answer some accusations brought against him. The accusations referred to doubtless have to do with the active part he had taken in the transfer of allegiance of his people from the British to the American government, for later he forwarded an attestation drawn up by Dr. Laffont, whom we have mentioned as a companion of M. Gibault in his trip to Vincennes. In this he declares that the priest's object was to preserve the peace and union of the settlement and to prevent the effusion of blood; "as for temporal concerns," he writes, "I had the entire charge." Nothing ever came of this mandate, nor does anything show that Father Gibault ever went to Quebec, for we find him at St. Genevieve in April, 1783. Probably he did not receive the letter at the time, for the mails were in great disorder on account of the war. There are neither letters nor responses from 1776 to 1783. The defence referred to was sent from Vincennes in 1786, and was couched as follows:

"As to the inhabitants of the Station of Vincennes, it has been said in Canada that I led them into perjury in order to extricate myself from the affair with Governor Hamilton; perhaps he and his officers have used the pretext that a people so ignorant must have allowed themselves to be persuaded by me, and that because of their ignorance they should be pardoned their fault, the entire blame resting on me. The truth is, that not having been at Vincennes for a long time and finding a favorable occasion to go there with Mr. Laffont, I profited by it to visit the mission. If I had mixed myself up in an affair of that importance, they would have seen my signature somewhere; they would give some other proof than these; they say they have traced us back at other such things. I had the happiness of obtaining an attestation from Mr. Laffont immediately upon our return to Illinois because of some remarks of which I had been the object. I send you this attestation written and signed in his own hand, in the original, keeping for myself only a copy. You will judge more surely from writings than by idle words."

The condition of the French began to be deplorable. In a letter from St. Genevieve, Father Gibault writes:

"The Illinoians are worse off than they have ever been. After having been ruined and their wealth squandered by the Virginians, left without a commander, without troops, and without justice, they govern themselves by caprice and fancy, or rather by the law of might."

Every word was founded on fact. More than once had they occasion to regret the aid they had given to set up the new government. National sentiment had aroused and sustained antipathy to the British rule, but the rebellion was actuated by no personal feelings of dissatisfaction. They had been able to support themselves by their industry; their crops were left to them; their live-stock was unmolested; rights to property were respected, and if provisions had been demanded by the soldiers, they were paid for in good coin. When they opened their stores generously to Clark, he had given them paper currency, that the scale of depreciation fixed by Congress made practically worthless inside of a few years. The whole commissary department of the army of the West was maintained at their expense during the revolution. Under British dominion, law and order had been maintained, and courts of jurisdiction settled their difficulties. Now, divisions of troops came and went with no regularity at all, and quartered themselves without warning on a helpless people. These flying commandants of the forts were the highest authority.

But the climax of their misfortunes, and the most emphatic contrast between times of British rule and the present, was the Indian trouble. The year 1782 was the most terrible ever known on the western frontier.* The British had not yet evacuated the posts on the lakes, and here they continued to instigate the Indians to make war on the pioneers. While their mode of warfare was repugnant to the civilized mind, England did not scruple making these barbarians her allies; and it was her regular policy to offer

* Dunn's *History of Indiana*, p. 160.

rewards for scalps and none for prisoners.* In the East, the American forces fared well. After the battle of Blue Licks, the Indian towns were wiped out on the Wabash, and the red men never again invaded Kentucky in force. A relentless hand kept pushing them north and west. A lull which lasted for two years followed the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Paris. During that period Father Gibault spent part of the time at St. Genevieve, and, in the spring of 1785, came to Vincennes, where he fixed his residence. Here his perplexities as to ecclesiastical jurisdiction began. Previous to the revolution, the Catholics in America depended on the Vicar Apostolic in London for spiritual guidance; but such was the feeling created between the two countries by the war, and so large had the number of Catholics on the American side of the waters become, that the clergy of the United States sent a delegate to Rome to ask a bishop for themselves. John Carroll, of Baltimore, was made first Prefect Apostolic in 1784, then Bishop in 1790, of a diocese which included the whole of the United States, bounded by Louisiana and the Mississippi River, including about four thousand French, who, up to this time, had been under the Bishop of Quebec. Franklin communicated to Congress the projects of the court of Rome; but the Federal Government declared that State laws governed the case, and would have nothing to do in the matter. Monsig. Briand, of Canada, would take no action; and when orders came from Bishop Carroll to publish a jubilee for all the faithful of America whose religious duties had been interrupted by the war, Father Gibault, in the greatest perplexity, writes to him to know what to do. He refused to comply with any of Bishop Carroll's mandates without word from Quebec. The last letter of his that is preserved, and which we have given elsewhere, contains an affecting allusion to his services, his

* *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 220.

age, his repugnance to serve under another bishop, either in the Spanish or American government. All these made him hope for his recall to his native parish. Priests were being supplied from Baltimore as a centre, and there was no longer a pressing demand for him. What reply was made to his request we do not know, but it is certain that the faithful missionary never returned to Quebec. He left Vincennes for Cahokia in 1789.

Ecclesiastical difficulties were the least of the troubles that the lonely priest had to combat in those years at Vincennes. The French of the place were his by adoption, and he felt a father's concern in their misfortunes. The decline of the French in importance had begun with the neglect of law and order in the Illinois towns after Clark withdrew; and Indian troubles gave an impetus to their downward course. Although the old affection for the French remained, and those at Vincennes received warning when the Indians proposed an attack on the place, practical considerations were uppermost. Hostile tribes made raids on their farms and destroyed crops; the loss of the Indian trade followed. Even nature combined against the unfortunate inhabitants. Three floods and a succession of early frosts marked these dark years. Famines were of frequent occurrence. At one time food was so scarce that

> "a woman, a boy of about thirteen, and a girl of seven were driven to the woods by hunger, and poisoned themselves by eating some wild roots, and died of it." *

However, the whole blame of this condition of affairs cannot be laid on the shoulders of the commanders, even though Clark's failure to put down the Indians in the north, brought about by his drinking heavily, made his men lose confidence and lapse into mutiny. Vincennes was in the heart of a hostile country, and its defence had to be secured at all costs.

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* St. Clair's Papers, vol. ii., pp. 131, 132 (note).

The commissary department made only necessary depredations. The trouble over the navigation of the Mississippi inflamed the Kentuckians, so that they talked openly of war. As a consequence, there were more seizures of supplies. Only after five years of conflict, at the end of which "Mad Anthony" Wayne defeated the allied tribes at Maumee Rapids, and forced them to sign a treaty in 1795, was peace restored to the country.

But it was not wholly wars, nor the unfortunate material circumstances of the times, that lowered the status of the French. The reason lay deeper down. The tide of immigration that poured over the Alleghanies with Clark's conquest inaugurated contrasts too obvious to overlook. A struggle for the survival of the fittest must have triumphed as it did. The root of the trouble lay in the character of the people themselves. Among the original colonists in the time of Louis XIV, very few were educated men; the majority were disbanded soldiers,—peasants from the provinces, or of the lower clases in Paris. Criminals and convicts made up some ship-loads; so even the original standard of civilization was not high. Owing to the number of priests and their influence on the young, morality bettered as the years went on. But the colonists below the Lake line who migrated towards the end of the Grand Monarch's reign came into contact with no outside influences. Their life was a stagnant pool. They handed down customs of the *régime*, from father to son, without a shadow of change. The employments that occupied their time were not conducive to progress. The fur trade threw them with the Indians, and often *coureurs de bois* were more savage than French.

Agriculture was carried on by the most primitive means. Vincennes was of the nature of a commonwealth, the livestock herded together, and each man had a small allotment in the common field. So that they had enough to support life, and purchase some little finery for festive occasions,

they were content. Out of nine, scarcely six could read or write.* Moccasons, a deerskin jacket, a leathern belt, replaced very often by a gaudy, beaded sash, made the survivor of New France a picturesque, if not a modern figure. The women had not even the spinning-wheel we always introduce in a picture of colonial days. Amusements were equally simple and marked by that gay abandon one always connects with the French character. The language was preserved in its purity. Is it remarkable that this easy-going, irresponsible people, utterly lacking in practical ability, should disappear in the tide of immigration made up of pioneers, all of whom could read and write, all of whom had active minds and active interests, men in whom the Teuton inflexibility was highest? They were in search of homes, their land-hunger was insatiable. The government was glad to turn property into cash to meet its debts. Now the old inhabitants suffered for the slovenly kept records. Forgery and inaccuracy made endless trouble in regard to lands held, without question, by their ancestors. Some of the deeds had been oral only. Major Hamtramck, under Winthrop Sargent, merited the gratitude and esteem of the townsmen by the way in which he met difficulties. A Yankee pioneer describes the town towards the end of the century:

"Post Vincennes" (he observes) "is a beautiful place, was it settled by respectable people; but they are a mixture of all nations. The principal inhabitants are French, intermarried with Indians, and pay little regard to religion or law. They are under the guidance of an old Roman Catholic friar, who keeps them in ignorance as much as he can, and fills them full of superstition. The people give themselves up to all kinds of vice, and are as indolent and idle a community as ever composed one town. They might live in affluence if they were industrious. The town has been settled longer than Philadelphia, and one-half of their dwelling-houses are yet covered with bark, like Indian

* Dillon, p. 399.

wigwams. The inhabitants are quite numerous, and people from all parts of the United States are emigrating to this place." *

At any rate, this was the impression of Vincennes left with the average pioneer. Yet this much-scorned fragment of a race had given all that fertile territory into the hands of their defamers but a few years before!

Father Gibault's request to be recalled to Quebec, which we have mentioned above, shows how keenly he felt the contrast in his position. In a town which his single word had turned into a garrisoned American fort he was without a home. Crowds of strangers jostled him carelessly in the streets, where once every face had worn a look of recognition. Strange priests were coming to usurp the little chapel he had seen raised at his behest, hardly twenty years past. Old age was coming on, and with it the desire for rest and quiet. He lost hope of returning to Quebec, and as a last resort returned to Cahokia, and dictated a memorial to the government which he had served so faithfully, with never a doubt that his request would be granted. The document contains so much that throws light on the state of things at the time that we quote it in full.

"CAHOKIA, May 16, 1790.

"The undersigned memorialist has the honor to represent to your Excellency (Governor Arthur St. Clair) that, from the moment of the conquest of the Illinois country by Colonel George R. Clark, he has not been backward in venturing his life on the many occasions in which he found that his presence was useful, and at all times sacrificing his property, which he gave for the support of the troops at the same price he could have received in Spanish milled dollars, and for which, however, he has received only paper dollars, of which he had no information since he sent them addressed to the Commander of Congress, who required a statement of the depreciation of them at the Belle Riviere

* "The scheming friar to whom this Puritan soldier refers is none other than our good friend, Father Gibault, and the superstition with which he filled his parishioners does not appear to be anything worse than Catholicism," * is the comment of an author who quotes from the traveller's letter.

* Dunn, p. 268.

(Ohio), in 1783, with the express promise in reply that particular attention should be paid to this account, because it was well known to be in nowise exaggerated. In reality, he parted with his titles and his trusts, only to set an example to his parishioners, who began to perceive that it was intended to pillage them and abandon them afterwards, which really took place. The want of seven thousand eight hundred livres, of the non-payment of which the American notes had deprived him the use, has obliged him to sell the two good slaves who would now be the support of his old age, and for the want of them he now finds himself dependent upon the public, who, although well served, are very rarely led to keep their promises, except that part who, employing their time in such service, are supported by the secular power, that is to say, on the civil government. The love of country and liberty has also led your memorialist to reject all of the advantages offered him by the Spanish governor; and he endeavored by every means in his power, by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants, to retain every person in the dominion of the United States in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that our lives and property, having been employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the United States, would at last receive acknowledgment, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers, who sooner or later would come to examine into and relieve our situation. We begin to see the accomplishment of these hopes under the happy government of Your Excellency, and as your memorialist has every reason to believe, from proofs which would be too long to explain here, you have been one of the number who have been most forward in risking their lives and their fortunes for their country. He also hopes that this demand will be listened to favorably. It is this. The missionaries, like lords, have at all times possessed two tracts of land near this village,—one, three acres in front, which produces but little hay, three-fourths being useless by a great morass; the other, of two acres in front, which may be cultivated, and which the memorialist will have cultivated with care, and proposes to have a dwelling erected on it, with a yard and orchard, in case his claim is accepted. Your Excellency may think, perhaps, that this might injure some of the inhabitants, but it will not. It would be difficult to hire them to cause an enclosure to be made of the size of these tracts, so much land have they more than they cultivate. May it please Your Excellency, then, to grant them to your memorialist as belonging to the domain of the United States, and give him a concession to be enjoyed in full propriety in his private name, and not as missionary and priest, to pass to his successor; otherwise the memorialist would not accept it.

"It is for the services he has already rendered, and for those which he still hopes to render, as far as circumstances may offer, and he may be capable, and particularly on the bounty with which you relieve those

who stand in need of assistance, that he founds his demand. In the hopes of soon being of the number of those who praise heaven for your fortunate arrival in this country, and who desires your prosperity in everything, your memorialist has the honor of being, with the most profound respect, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

"P. GIBAULT, priest.

"To His Excellency, Arthur St. Clair."

In a report to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, the Governor writes:

"Number 24 is the request of Mr. Gibault for a small piece of land that has long been the occupation of priests at Cahokia, having been assigned them by the French; but he wishes to possess it in propriety, and it is true that he was very useful to Governor Clark upon many occasions, and has suffered very heavy losses. I believe no injury would be done to any one by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States."

It has been well said that

"when the fever of gratitude sets in, republics can be very grateful, but such fevers are intermittent, and very slow of attack."

Congress perhaps considered the demand; but Bishop Carroll protested against any attempt to alienate Church property to individual clergymen.*

"Apparently, in consequence, the Reverend Mr. Gibault left the diocese of Baltimore,"

and retired to the Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi, where some of his former parishioners had gone after the American possession. The protest rises at the picture this incident calls to the imagination, is against circumstance rather than individuals, but it is none the less strong because of this. The most stringent justice demands, as a reward of a life of labor, an old age free from care at least, if not brightened by such comforts as the world can afford those

* Letter of Rev. E. J. P. Schmidt to W. H. English.

who have witnessed the hollowness of the best it can offer. But aged Father Gibault, enfeebled by years of privation and hardships, was driven from the field of his life-labor, by the exigencies of a time spirit untempered by sentiment, to a strange, new little town lately built by the river's edge, to catch the ebb and flow of a rough, uncouth population of pioneers and adventurers. Upon these strangers he depended for the very necessities of life, a humiliation at best, but accentuated by the knowledge that if he would go, there would be others to take his place, with perhaps a greater success. Still, such a spirit as his could find solace in the consciousness of duty done; a piety like that evinced throughout his life made even these hardships easy to bear, and his energy picked up the new work with cheerful courage.

He passed the opening years of the new century in New Madrid. This town was founded in 1787 by Americans, who had been invited into Spanish territory during the trouble concerning the navigation of the Mississippi. Wilkinson, the principal agitator in the movement, was suspected of wanting to found a settlement under Spanish control. During the difficulties, the Southern States became so incensed that they and the British projected an attack on the Spanish colonies. In spite of Adams' veto, Spain became alarmed and retroceded Louisiana to France. The following year, for other national considerations, Louisiana was sold to the United States.

The records of Missouri point to the presence of Father Gibault in New Madrid as late as 1804, when his death is supposed to have occurred; but there are also authorities who contend that he returned to old France to die under the Banner of the Lilies. Which of the conflicting accounts is true is immaterial, for the place or years adds no definite stroke to a portrait of the aged missionary. His active life, and the impetus his influence gave to the current of progress among his people, practically ceased when he removed his

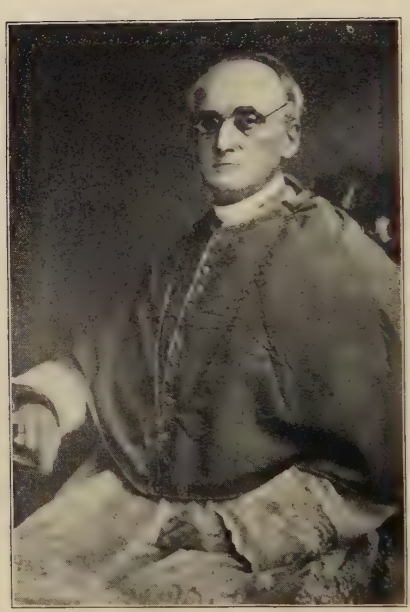
residence from the old Illinois regions to Louisiana, with its restless, shifting, cosmopolitan population, who enjoyed his functions as priest, but disregarded the man as an intellectual force. Several years the ripe grain stood waiting for the harvester, but this aftermath of maturity had not the pathetic quality that marks the corresponding period of the life of the active man of the world. The difference lies in the strongly individual character of a priest's life brought about by opposite aims in the life-work. The priest stands in a peculiar relation to his fellow-men which makes a stand-still in his work impossible. His field of labor is limited by his ability and energy alone. His standards of success and failure are essentially non-material. With this distinction in mind, we are called upon to review the life of Pierre Gibault in its successive periods,—the years of preparation for toil spent at the Seminary of Quebec; his missionary labors among half-barbaric French and Indian under British dominion; his share in the acquisition of the Northwest Territory,—the most interesting and important phase to Americans; then the period marked by scanty recognition of services by Congress, a reluctance to transfer allegiance to a new bishop, what we might designate an era of limitations imposed upon him by education and circumstance. Daily, new documents are coming to light which bring out details of the great work of the band of missionaries in the West to which Father Gibault belonged, and they illumine the period marked by the maturity of his influence. Time is the great avenger of unrecognized forces, currents must come to the surface somewhere. Mankind is too jealous of the consistency of history to overlook any character that would make the story more lucid.



† J. M. ev. de Galveston.

MT. REV. JOHN MARY ODIN, D.D.

Second Archbishop of New Orleans, La. Born February 25, 1801; ordained May 4, 1823; consecrated March 6, 1842; died May 25, 1870.

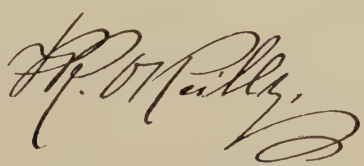


John McGill
Bp of Richmond

RT. REV. JOHN McGILL, D.D.

Third Bishop of Richmond, Va. Born November 4, 1809; ordained June 13, 1835; consecrated November 10, 1850; died January 14, 1872.

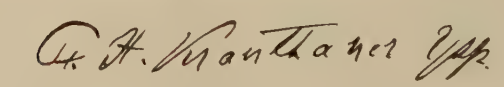




REV. P. R. O'REILLY.

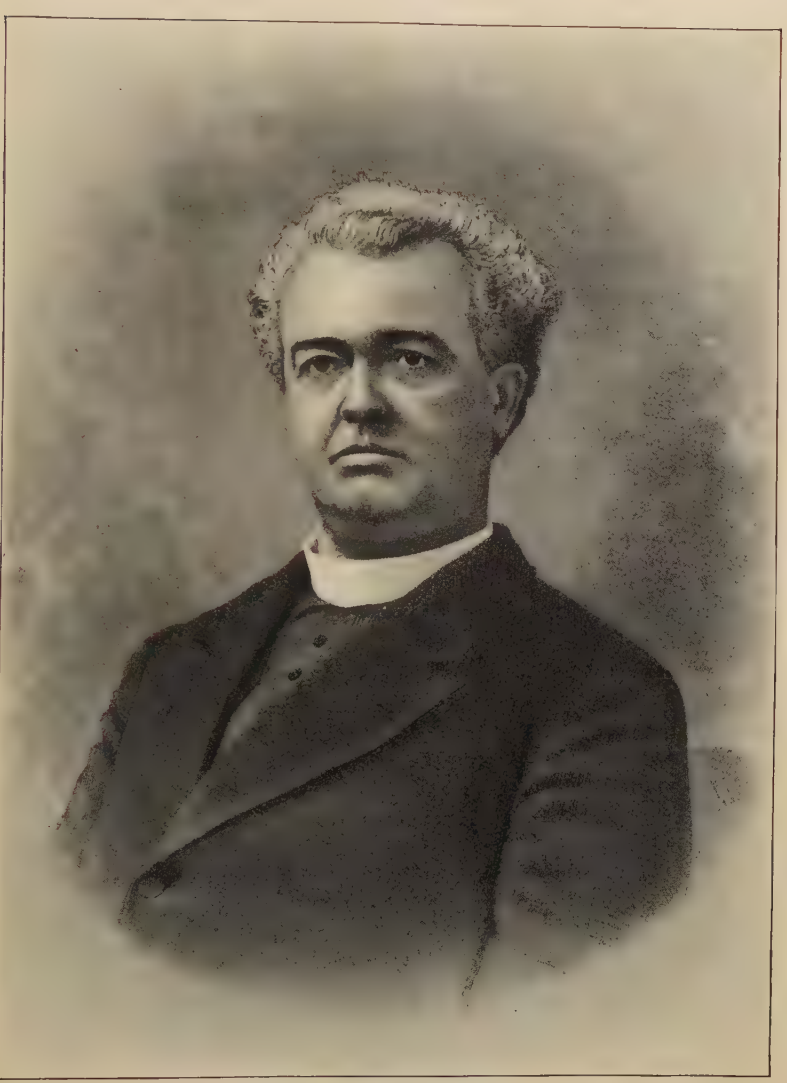
Philadelphia, Pa. Born May 24, 1819; ordained 1845; died May 9, 1898.





RT. REV. FRANCIS XAVIER KRAUTBAUER, D.D.

Second Bishop of Green Bay, Wis. Born January 12, 1824; ordained July 16, 1850; consecrated June 25, 1875; died December 17, 1885.



REV. FRANCIS E. BOYLE.

Washington, D. C. Born September 6, 1827; ordained November, 1851; died March 13, 1882.



John Moore D.D.
Bishop of St. Augustine

RT. REV. JOHN MOORE, D.D.

Second Bishop of St. Augustine, Fla. Born June 27, 1835; ordained April 9, 1860; consecrated May 13, 1877; died July 30, 1901.



Yours truly
Thomas Barry

REV. THOMAS J. BARRY.

Philadelphia, Pa. Born December 19, 1844; ordained October 18, 1867; died August 21, 1901.



REV. JOHN B. BYRNE, D.D.
Philadelphia, Pa. Died December 11, 1864.



BROTHER OF THE THIRD ORDER OF CARMELITES.



KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL AND OF ST. LAZARUS OF JERUSALEM.



GRAND MASTER OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL AND OF ST. LAZARUS OF JERUSALEM.



CHURCH KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL AND OF ST. LAZARUS OF JERUSALEM.



SERVING BROTHER OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL AND OF ST. LAZARUS OF JERUSALEM.



NOVICE OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL AND OF ST. LAZARUS OF JERUSALEM.



SISTER OF THE THIRD ORDER OF CARMELITES.



BROTHER OF THE ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL.

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ERRATA.

Page 32, fourth line from top, for Clairemont read Clermont.
Page 63, ninth line from bottom, for Archbishop read Bishop.
Page 114, third and fourth lines from bottom, for Manucy read Manning.
Page 139, eighth line from bottom, for 1804 read 1805.

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